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NEGOTIATING PEACE AND COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA: TRENDS AND TRAVAILS

Dhruba Kumar

In *War and Peace* Leo Tolstoy wrote that the political leaders are driven by the underlying social forces of which they are indicators rather than commanders. Examples of underlying social forces are population increase requiring to create more social capital; the decay of economic and political system demanding structural change; the different impact of growth and social change on various ethnic groups; the decline of the state power; the fragmentation of society into competitive groups and the reemergence of assertive national identities.

These structural issues and challenges emanating from them have long been ignored in South Asia. The lapses on the part of leaderships to understand the devastating implications of such structural anomalies have cost the building of a peaceful community. Though nationhood in South Asia was broadly achieved through the strategy of non-violence, the nation/state building process, however, has continued to encourage violence both within and without. Rather than becoming a peaceful society sharing a common civilizational heritage, the South Asian states have become a historical narrative of violent conflicts reflecting a symptom of a dysfunctional system. Even though the change in the social relationships has become an imperative, its leaders are, however, bent on to promote structural conflicts to serve their ego. Exacerbation of structural conflicts with the deterioration of socio-economic condition in almost all the South Asian states makes peace more elusive as ever before. Peace talks have indeed become synonymous to the weather talks, "but nobody does anything about it," as Mark Twain had famously remarked. Instead waging a virtual war has become professionally beneficial although we may self-deceptively think that our leaders are keen on peace.

Though the structural anomalies creating conflicts and wars as identified by Tolstoy can hardly be contested, bad leaders, as an "indicator" of social forces, can be least appreciated in the case of South Asian states. The leaderships, that become a *classe politique*, are responsible for refusing to coexist for their personal interests and advancements. They have self-righteously defined their ideology to be superior against the other; they believed that they are right and others' are wrong; they have developed and entrenched thinking that any sign of compromise would be construed by the others as their weakness questioning their ideological moorings. The political class, which represents the states by controlling resources and security apparatuses, endures conflict with others in the name of preserving national interests, which actually is an interest in sustaining its respective power base. While taking self-deceptive and destructive actions under the pretext of preserving national interests, values and commitment, the political class mercilessly engages its own citizens in the criminal enterprises in sustaining violence.

The political class has chosen violence as an instrument of control within and without and do not hesitate to repress those who disagree with them or those struggling against them. The structural violence they are inclined to cause is well reflected, for example, in the pursuit of India and Pakistan, for nuclear deterrence taking the civilian hostage to their popular war game. This suggests that they are not only the arbitrators of the fate of a billion plus civilian population living across the border but also the ultimate means and user of violence to sacrifice their own people to achieve their ultimate goal by prevailing against the enemy. The assertion of nuclear deterrence is also an advertisement of virtual war by compelling the people in South Asia to live a life with growing sense of insecurity. This is explained as a civilized behaviour of sensible and seasoned political class in articulating the consequence of war in modern condition in case the deterrence fails. The political class has expanded the war from the fixed battlefields to states. Any ethical response to self-destruction that can be brought by the use of nuclear weapons, however, has yet to arise.

States are, by their historical formation, a legitimizer of violence. The burst of mushroom clouds and the promotion of holocaust industries in South Asia have significantly lead to a conclusion that rights to resort to violence and destruction are the prized possession of the *classe politique* who are conveniently wedded to the classic conception of the doctrinal realists obsessed with the Hobbesian dilemma posited by the eternal conflicts.

This paper modestly outlines the trends setting in South Asia, which are broadly constricting efforts towards constructive engagement in the region. Secondly, though the structural factors obtaining in the region have made cooperation an imperative for the countries like Nepal, their endeavours towards cooperation have not been rewarded with trust and enduring relationships. Negotiating initiatives towards peace that Nepal has taken in its domestic context to resolve the Maoists' challenges also has to make any progress. Thirdly, the paper looks at India as a compulsive factor in the peace-making process in South Asia, particularly, with weak neighbours who do not possess national means either in preserving their economic or security interests. The situational factor leading India to raise its hegemonic aspirations has, however, dwarfed the incentives for peace in the regional relationships. Finally, this paper concludes with some observations by looking at past failures of peace process and with contemplation on rethinking peace in South Asia.

Underlying Rupturous Trends

Assessing the situation obtaining in the regional matrix at the moment some discernible trends developing in South Asia can be identified as uncongenial to change the conflict parameters, at least, in the first decade of the present century. The strategic choice of the regional leaderships coveting power with heightening military profile while dealing with each other has reinforced their mistrust. Their preferences are to secure best for oneself and worsen the situation for others. In other words, this persistent phenomenon has continued to generate conflicts than cooperation, which is not only pathetic but also requires an independent and in-depth study on the pathology of leaderships in South Asia. Here it should be agreed that without a thorough understanding of the *classe politique*, the attempts at peace building in the region would be futile.

Obviously, the first trend obtaining in South Asia is that despite the expansion of the material bases of the regional countries, they are all undergoing a structural fragmentation from within. All the states are practising the task of rebuilding and consolidating the legatee of the states' rights to rule as sovereign authority by forcibly eliminating tendencies towards further fragmentation and the state collapse.

The second trend, associated with the first is that domestic disputes are becoming growingly susceptible to the influence, manipulation and

subversion by the others. South Asia has long remained a playground for narco-terrorist-corruption nexus where "black economy" fosters parallel to the national economies (e.g. Kumar 1999). The ugly head of terrorism that arises worldwide after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States has led South Asian states scrambling for securing their respective domestic sphere against terrorism. Again, pathetic indeed was the case of the October 1 attack on the Srinagar Assembly in Kashmir, which was simply bruised aside as a case for individual state's concern against the collective concern on terrorism developed after the American tragedy. Following the December 13, 2001 attack on Indian Parliament in New Delhi, more than a million troops are deployed from both sides along the Indo-Pak border to counterpoise and contain the cross border terrorism. This context therefore has compelled the regional states to depend more on their own security forces and be manipulated by the interests of their security apparatuses than coordinating a regional consensus against the common menace.

The third trend is that the passion for conflicts remains on both sides of the Indo-Pak border. The nuclear restraint regime attempted to establish by the Lahore Declaration and the Memorandum of Understanding signed on February 21, 1999 was dashed to the ground by the Kargil conflict, when both India and Pakistan rhetorically displayed their nuclear teeth contrary to their previous commitment to construct a "vision of peace and prosperity" in South Asia (Kumar 1999). The Agra fiasco of summer 2001 was therefore not surprising to either negotiating party. Despite the argument to the contrary (Bidwai 2001) the latest Indo-Pak summit was also transformed into a virtual war as intractable positions were publicized with the issuance of the joint statement finally deferred.

Clearly, these leaders in South Asia have mortgaged the future of the region to their self-righteous claims to the entitlement of Kashmir. Their ruthless manipulation of the popular will has narrowed the scope of any positive change in the structure of relationships - particularly between India and Pakistan - that has, in turn, made South Asia itself a hostage to their irreconcilable interests. As a consequence, SAARC as a process of confidence building and peace building has become the greatest victim in this course.

The fourth trend is that the democratization process in South Asia remains unstable, uncertain and incomplete. As we know, literature on democratic peace is in abundance (e.g. Weart 1998; Mansfield and Snider 1995). But the case of industrialized and economically tied up and mature

democracies cannot be replicated in South Asian situation. Because a majority of South Asian states are only through the procedural democracy where liberal values are yet to take their roots. Weak democracies where domestic dissonances are moreover manipulated by political differentiation between the aspiring and entrenched elite preferences are prone to conflict escalation than management. There are studies supporting the view that weak and unstable democracies are dangerously bordering towards conflict than consolidated oligarchies (e.g. Rothstein 1992). Evidently, the critical crisis in the Indo-Pak context, perhaps for the first time after the 1971 War, occurred in 1990, when Pakistan was under democratic regime. Elements of nuclear use for the first time entered in the conflict vocabulary of these rival powers. Thus the ideals of democracy can perhaps work only if such ideals are buttressed by the commonsense liberalism. Regimes in South Asia, though liberated from the colonial yoke, are yet to develop the common sense that the human element in governance is profoundly required in order to develop a healthy society and escape either from the deformative thinking of leaderships or decadent pursuit of estates.

Again, economic imperatives are more congenial in defining relationships either between democracies or any types of regime. The Indo-Pak relations stood contrary to their economic needs. Economically, they are quite independent if one were not to count the invisible trade. Similarly, the generation shift in both countries – even though the Pakistani youths are glued to the Indian satellite TV channels for entertainment – have made their aspirations and priorities really different. They are not sentimental to their past roots. Their materialistic aspirations are not confined to the subcontinental assets. As India finds the South Asian economic space very small for its growing aspirations, Pakistan is also in no mood to put all the eggs in the SAARC basket. Given the situation, India's "Look East" policy was in actuality a follow up of Pakistan's "Look West" approach in economic integration. Therefore SAARC remains a poor man's choice left to be fended by countries like Nepal who cannot make a "Look North" policy realistic enough to serve its economic interests.

Conversion of South Asia into a situation of virtual war between states is the fifth and most devastating trends of all noted above. During the Kargil fighting at the snowy heights of Kashmir in 1999, South Asians were mobilized by the satellite TV channels as spectators, if not as combatants in the duel. Though virtual war is not physically injurious and fatal to the people who wage it, it is a war, which is perennially damaging to human

psychology creating the enemy image (Herrmann and Fischerkeller 1995), and inflaming the social fabric. (During the Kargil conflict many Nepali youths had reportedly gone to India to join the Indian army and fight against Pakistanis. May be this was caused by their economic imperative. But the pulse in Nepal was high in favour of India, which, many thought, was a war unnecessarily provoked by the other side.)

Though wars are a scourge in human history, it created a culture in which conservatism instantaneously clashes with liberalism in social milieu when religious, not secular values, become embedded. Perhaps the rise of political Islam and Hindutva in Pakistan and India is against the liberal values that secularism professes. Tuning war with religious cause makes it easier for the classe politique to groundswell the atmosphere of hatred against the identified enemy in which media has midwived the task of leaders in expanding the war psyche from across the battlefields to the drawing rooms in influencing and shaping public opinion.

The virtual war can also sabotage any atmospherics for change. For example, when president Musharraf of Pakistan was preparing to visit India for a summit meeting with the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee, the print media perforce a situation by editorializing the context suggesting:

He is, after all, the same man who responded to Vajpayee's Lahore journey by initiating Kargil. This man has done nothing pathbreaking to convince India that he is different from his predecessors, for Kashmir has been a politically and religiously mobilizing slogan for successive Pakistani leaderships. And, Indo-Pak history is replete with instances of grand gestures being followed by grand deceptions. So engagement is fine, but outbreak of peace is fantasy (India Today, June 12, 2001).

Another editorial published in a largely circulating Indian daily was definitive in suggesting that Kashmir, in reality, is a "symptom of feudal obscurantism of the Pakistani ruling class" (Times of India, May 29, 2001). Infuriated by the massacre of the 38 people at the Srinagar Assembly Hall on October 1, a frequent contributor to the media has gone to the extent of labeling the Pakistan president writing "Pervez Musharraf is to India what Osama bin Laden is to the United States - an architect of terrorism" (Chellaney 2001). By dwelling on the tragedy, Prabhu Chawla has reported that the Cabinet Committee on Security in India is wrestling with

the idea of "punitive actions" against Pakistan (Chawla 2001) *a la* American strikes against terrorism in Afghanistan. The Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee, in an address to the nation after December 13, 2001 attack on the parliament, has vowed to "liquidate the terrorists" and their sponsors suggesting that "we will fight a decisive battle to the end as the battle against terrorism had reached its last phase" (Vajpayee 2001).

Fighting the enemy indefinitely was the purpose that the media invoked by turning the homespace into a battleground. The media is not contributing to change the situation under the pretext of press freedom and independent reporting. For instance, Indian media has complicated the situation rather than ease the complexities by understanding the situation in the case of hijacking of the Indian Airlines passenger aircraft en route to New Delhi from Kathmandu on December 24, 1999. The Indian print and electronic media then was unequivocal in their attempts to establish the complicity of Nepali government with the hijacker – understandably the Pakistani ISI. In their attempts to do so, they had not only accused a Nepali gentleman passenger as being the mastermind behind the hijacking, the image of Nepal was also bruised worldwide as being a country infested by terrorists. Supplementing this episode, the Internet edition of India Today weekly magazine in June 2000, posted a long report, supposed to be filed by the Indian Intelligence Service (RAW) working in Nepal, implicating many senior leaders of the ruling as well as opposition political parties being coopted by the Pakistani ISI. Against this background, an episode concerning the cine star Hritik Roshan, that made another media blaze, had not only played over the anti-India sentiments. It has but also critically impaired the communal harmony persisting between the Hill and Tarai Nepalis.

Yes, there is a truth in saying, "no news is good news." But the bad news, as a consequence, has bridged the distance between the home and battlefronts by transforming the role of the journalists from being observers of the scene to protagonist of the case encouraging belligerency causing perpetual damage to relationships by inflicting the civil morale. Virtual war therefore demonizes the states in conflicts but does not demolish the states not because the military power and its use is a bluff but because states shrink with horror of destroying the hated regime; uncertainty of the change and the effects it may cause to the preferred sense of stability. Whatever India senses and feels about Nepal, whether as a terrorist infested state or a pinpricking neighbour, it has preferred stability in Nepal by publicly endorsing support to the "monarch and the prime minister," perhaps at the cost of democracy,

sovereignty and national integrity. Support to the people of Nepal, who are still struggling for democratization, broader participation and the rule of law, did not sensitize the scheme of Indian External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh when he became explicit on India's policy towards Nepal. The stability factor might have compelled democratic India to come out in support of monarchy – still a symbol of unity and stability – and unflinchingly aided by military power, fearing the negative consequence of the country dissolving into terrorist menace and civil war that may cause by the ongoing Maoist insurgency. Thus, while defending India and the Indian interests (Singh 1999) in the neighbourhood, Jaswant Singh's strategic narrative is also reflecting Henry Kissinger's wisdom whose writings are marred by the illusion of a world without concrete human beings.

Finally, these trends, in their combination, may not inspire any innovative approach in the region urging the member countries of SAARC to cooperate as the case of subregionalism itself has shown. This India inspired cooperative venture for the development of Ganges Brahmaputra-Meghna Basin was stillborn as the political leadership in India itself was found wanting to develop any thrust on the issue after the change over of the leadership. Although the physical proximity of the states can be a compelling reason to be concerned with each other, this proximity, when defined only coherently in strategic parameter, becomes relational and relative to territorial defence not development. Perhaps countries like Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh matter more for India in terms of defence of the motherland in the northeast than investing in these areas a fortune for the future. In the northwest, Kashmir is relative to India and Pakistan as a fixed good defined in terms of zero-sum game disputing their claims to entitlement wherein the people suffer most. The fatal error, which the states in South Asia are presently indulging into, can be seen in reconstituting their security apparatuses both in managing the domestic civil conflicts and plausible external military conflicts. The overriding concern therefore is avoiding any further conflicts, which could turn deadly than before. Diplomacy, in this context, can be a measured option, purposively used to discourage hostility turning into conflict and prevent military engagement to settle disputes. The bottomline therefore is that there is an acute need of dispute settlement between the parties in conflicts. The experiences in the region, however, are far from adequate to construct a positive picture for the future.

Bamboo Scaffold for Constructing Peace and Cooperation

Arthur Stein (1990) has observed, "cooperation is a product of choice and circumstance." Further he suggests, "an autonomous sovereign state is free to make its own choices and has its own mechanisms and procedures for arriving at decisions.... Yet having this independent decision-making ability does not mean that a state cannot have its payoffs determined by others." Nepali experience at cooperation with India is *prima facie* evidence of the circumstance dictating its choices. Nepal's urge for cooperation with India can be contextualized under a negotiation paradigm construed on bilateralism overwhelmed by asymmetric relationships, conducted on impulsive behaviour and predominated by the agenda setting by the other. Given this context, any satisfactory outcome of negotiation for the weak negotiating party under bilateralism remains just aspiration not achievement. Another characteristic of negotiation in the regional setting is that South Asians do not negotiate across cultures (Cohen 1991), but within cultures where a communication obstacle does not exist. Again, when governments negotiate with each other they generally follow an "international diplomatic culture," which in the case of South Asia is made easy by the English speaking world of governing elite, supplemented by commonly understood Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Nepali languages. In the case of India and Pakistan, besides their politicians and bureaucrats, the armed forces' top brass was also schooled together as cadets and danced *Bhangra* after the war ended, but they had disagreed and fought against each other in defence of their preferred national interests and values. Perhaps the commonality that South Asians share together itself becomes a hurdle whenever they try to establish their difference in national identity.

Experience of Nepali negotiators with their Indian counterparts, in this case, is a proven reality. The obtaining asymmetry provides a frustrating situation for Nepal that will have to bear the mounting pressure from its strong and overbearing neighbour accusing the weaker to have overstepped its limits and damaged the relationships. Negotiation under asymmetric condition particularly influenced overwhelmingly by the structural factors - strong-weak milieu - has been a diplomatic hazard for Nepal even though its relationships with India are built on the cultural symmetry.

While providing a working definition of culture some say it is understandably a "set of shared and enduring meanings, values and beliefs that characterize national, ethnic, or other groups and orient their behavior"

(Faure and Sjustedt 1993). Indo-Nepal relations are always described as ties governed by centuries old relationships nurtured by traditions, religion, culture, intermarriages and "brotherly" (Joint Statement, June 10, 1990). But nothing explains well the Indian posture towards Nepal explicitly when diplomacy and hard negotiation reality dictates their policies. Some of the top Nepali Congress leaders and former cabinet ministers who had occasioned to negotiate with India on crucial issues during the 1991-94 tenure of the Nepali Congress government and 1996-97 tenure of the Nepali Congress headed coalition government suggest that "Tiniharu Dina Jandainan, lina matra janchan (they are not givers, they are the takers). Frankly, the Indians are the worst negotiators we have ever encountered" (Personal Communication, September 9, 1997). According to them, the Indian temperament is well meaning, they stand tall in front of Nepal, and no attempt to reduce them to the status of equality would be tolerated.

Perhaps this remark may not be off the mark in view of the experience of others negotiating with India. For example, an American negotiator has described the Indians, "loosing no time to parade litany of all your past failures, abuses of them, sins" while India's record is presented as "one of the great principle and universal approbation" (Cohen 1991). India's sense of superiority bestowed on it by the hierarchical culture of the Brahminical elite governing the country always finds it offending whenever others, including the Hindu Nepal, tries to rub its shoulder (Gupta 1990). "What do you want?" is the question frequently asked reminding Nepal not only of its excessive dependence on India but also reflecting its own hypersensitivity to its image, status and position. The pressure tactics that India applied against its hapless and helpless neighbour had "brought the Palace to its knees" (Mansingh 1984). Tharoor has, thus, described the contemporaneous of Indian diplomacy as "the love-making of an elephant: it is conducted at a very high level, accompanied by much bellowing, and the results are not known for two years" (Tharoor 1982).

This observation is exemplified by the fate of the treaty Nepal and India had signed on "Integrated Development on Mahakali River Project" in 1996 and exchanged the instruments of ratification in 1997 with many fanfares. But the implementation contents of the agreement have disappeared from any serious consideration between the two contracting parties failing to prepare the Detailed Project Report (DPR) as stipulated in the treaty to be completed within the period of six months of ratification of the treaty in the parliament (Gyawali and Dixit 2000). Reflecting on the process, a former Nepali

Congress Minister of State for Water Resources had opined that the ratification was a blunder committed by the political leaders without assessing the cost-benefits after the completion of the DPR (Ghimire 2000). In August 2000, during the then Prime Minister Koirala's visit to India, the joint statement issued had committed to prepare the DPR within 2001. The stipulated time period was again extended to another six months for the preparation of the DPR by June 2002. The Joint Press Statement issued on March 23, 2002 in New Delhi at the conclusion of the Nepali Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's official visit to India committed both sides to "complete the joint Detail Project Report on Pancheshwor Project as per the revised schedule by June 2002 and jointly work out a plan to Action towards the early commencement of work on the Project" (See Para 20 of Joint Statement, March 23, 2002). But on July 1, 2002, the joint office established to oversee the preparation of the DPR of the much lauded Mahakali Project was unceremoniously closed down without any significant move towards completion of the DPR as stipulated in the series of Joint Statements signed and issued by Nepal and India (Kathmandu Post, July 2, 2002).

The problem of inundation of its territory is another critical challenge that Nepal faces in relations to water resources management between the two countries. India's unilateral decisions to build embankments and barrages downstream in its territory across the Nepal-India border for flood control and irrigation purposes have since long inundated Nepali territory as well as displaced Nepali citizens from their domiciles and agricultural land. In the 1970s, Gaur in the Rauthat district adjoining to the Indian border become the first town to be inundated by the building of embankment in the Indian territory that has continued to play havoc during the monsoon. Recently, the construction of the Lakshmanpur Barrage downstream of Nepali territory has affected some 15,174 people by inundating 2,258 houses and 2,200 hectares of land in the Banke district. As well, the controversy over the Khurdlotan Russiawala embankment on Nepal-India border across the Rupendehi district is caused by the fear of inundation of land and displacement of the people in Nepal. Some 155,120 hectares of Nepali land, which is about 6 per cent of the total cultivable land in Nepal, are likely to be inundated if India were to pursue its unilateral decision in building embankments and barrages. Similarly, the number of people likely to be displaced is around 230,000. In Nepal – India water conflicts, it is actually a reversal of the "Rambo situation" (Haftendorn 2001) in which the upper riparian country's interests and sensitivities are ignored in the interests of the lower riparian country

because of the political economy of Nepal as being excessively dependent on India. Nepal's aspiration for functional collaboration on water resources' use have therefore been put on the deck by India by its unilateral decisions reflecting on its power and capabilities to influence the Nepali government's decisions to acquiescence to Indian interests.

Another instance of the strained bilateral relations of Nepal with India remains the trade treaty. The trade treaty signed in 1996 (perhaps as a payoff to Nepal for signing the Mahakali treaty) has eased the Nepali commodity exports to India without requiring the indigenous contents in the goods manufactured in Nepal. As stipulated, the treaty was also characterized by the provision of self-renewal after the expiry of the given period within five years. India is now rethinking over the entire philosophy behind the trade treaty fearing the destabilization effects caused on the Indian economy by the continuation of the Nepali commodity exports. A realistic appraisal of the Indian and Nepali economies suggests that the former economy constituting a crude estimate of \$500 billion GDP and over a billion population provides a vast market for Nepali economy constituting around \$5 billion GDP - just one percent of Indian GDP. One can therefore imagine if Nepal can malign and destabilize Indian economy, its fragility is seriously pronounced. With such a cumbersome economy India's rise to dominance will always be questioned.

Negotiation on the renewal of trade treaty about to be expired in December 2001 was thus retarding of any progress. India would like to revert back to pre-1996 arrangement while signing the new treaty and had presented Nepal with "take it or leave it" option (Kantipur, October 20, 2001; Rajdhani, October 20, 2001; Kantipur, January 28, 2002). India had clearly stated its reservation against the unrestricted exports from Nepal of banaspati ghee, acrylic yarn, zinc oxide, copper wire and G.I. pipes and had declined to consider Nepali position on these issues. In case the treaty would be finally negotiated on Indian terms - bringing these items under quota system and on others export items with 25 per cent value added tax in the first year and 30 per cent from the second year of export - which is likely, Nepal's trade relations with India would suffer most given the context where the trade balance has always been in India's favour. In case of the failure to negotiate the treaty by December 2001, Nepal feared a repetition of the 1989 economic blockade. After six rounds of negotiations and the extension of the treaty for the three months period with prime ministerial understanding, the trade treaty has been finally renewed on March 2, 2002 in accordance with the Indian

conditions imposed with the quantitative restrictions on the exports of banaspati ghee to 100,000 metric tons, acrylic yarn to 10,000 metric tons, copper wire to 7,500 metric tons, and zinc oxide to 2,500 metric tons per annum. However India has considered not imposing quota on the exports of the G.I. pipes (Rajdhani, March 3, 2002). The ascertained dilemma of being a landlocked and economically weak and dependent country has preordained Nepal thus to a situation of accepting the *fait accompli*.

Cooperation between Nepal and India in the condition of asymmetry reminds one of what Henry Kissinger once said: "The weak do not negotiate," reflecting the case of the Middle East conflicts. This is true in the case of Nepal-India negotiations where its options are no options and the governing principles of negotiations are not applicable in the case of India. Negotiation requires a rule setting behaviour in that neither of the party involved have a right to alter rules unilaterally. Negotiation is a joint decision making process where one party however strong cannot change the parameter of negotiation at will and persuade other to agree. Then the negotiation ceases to constitute. The prevalence of an unwritten law suggesting that the weak do not have a right to make a different set of rules for themselves, particularly against the Indian sensitivities, and against the wishes of the strong and powerful, inhibit spontaneity in forging any constructive relationships. Problems settled with the immediacy of cost-benefits will never resolve the conflict, it may postpone which may again recur, as the case of Nepal-India negotiations over the same issue suggests, in which relative power has always determined the outcome.

Unless a sense of justice to the needy is seriously considered conflict resolution would be a mirage. Treaties, agreements and ratification are necessarily means to settle disputes but they are not ends to resolve conflicts unless political will prevails to honour and honestly implement the understanding reached earlier. Perhaps the Nepal-India trade treaty of 1996 was the preference of a political class led by Gujral in India, which reverted back to the preference of another political class whose doctrinal pursuits remain distinctly different from the Gujral Doctrine.

The Nepali politicians, on the other hand, are also a unique classe politique in them. Their case of impulsive behaviour is demonstrated by the mechanism that they agreed to adopt while setting the disputes over Tanakpur Barrage with India under a "package deal" on the Mahakali River. Prior to it, oppositional politics in Nepal was at its peak accusing the Nepali Congress led government of Girija P.Koirala (1991-94) for signing the

Tanakpur Treaty by overstepping the Article 126 of the Nepali Constitution 1990 and not tabling the treaty at the parliament for its ratification. But the issue was transformed with the use of subterfuge for obtaining a package deal over the Mahakali River once the coalition government under the Nepali Congress leadership incorporating the Rastriya Prajatantra Party along with the Nepal Sadbhavana Party was formed in late 1995. The concept of package deal was promoted by the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) as a shared ground with India when in power between 1994 and 1995 for nine months. Thus the CPN (UML) in its oppositional role also had a coalition of interests with the Treasury in the parliament encouraging both the signing and ratification of the treaty. Radical as well as extremist opposition to the development of mutuality of interests among the three prominent political parties were muted as the political constellation changed in the Nepali domestic context. Interests articulated by these three parties in settling disputes with India led not only to the signing of the treaty but also to its ratification in 1997 with overwhelming majority by forming the national consensus over night. But as the events later proved, the national consensus as well as ratification drama was artificially created.

The Communists accused Koirala for "selling out" to India over the Tanakpur episode in 1991. But when the CPN-UML broke down as a party in March 1998, Bam Dev Gautam, who headed the breakaway party as General-Secretary (who had himself energetically pursued the ratification process as a Deputy Prime Minister in 1997), repeated the same allegation against Madhav Nepal, the General-Secretary of the CPN-UML for persuading his party colleagues to sign and ratify the treaty to serve Indian interests. Hence, the role that political class plays conveniently defines the nature of relationships wherein conflicts are deliberately invented to achieve their personal goals.

To discourage such tendencies inherent in the role of political class, attempts should be made to resolve conflict by adhering to the principle of justice instead of trying to settle disputes through negotiation and treaty making endeavour. The compromise that the Nepali political class made with the Indian political class in sharing the water resources and consolidating their rapport resulted into the former being a loser against the objectives and aspirations set by the latter. In this case, the aspirations of the former as contextualized by setting priority to cooperate with the latter was a rational cost-benefits decision in settling the dispute. Whereas, the higher aspirations of the latter was to establish the rights to an uninterrupted water use and

entitlement to the resources sharing with the legatee of the treaty. Unfortunately, Mahakali treaty, as it stands today, is literally abandoned by the majority of those who had signed and ratified it in Nepal. As Gyawali and Dixit (2000) have observed, the glory over the signing of the treaty has now turned gloomy: "In less than a year, the treaty fell from euphoric heights of celebrity stardom almost straight into the abyss of a leper colony."

As circumstance has dictated, the establishment of a peaceful and cooperative relation with India has always been a priority agenda for Nepal. Harrowing political transition, however, has created a situation where uncertainties writ large. The fragility of democratic institutions thus is in itself an obstruction rather than a function for attaining peace in their relationships. Because the weakening of the state structure is becoming malleable to both internal and external interests. Perhaps the reason for growing suspicion in India about Nepal can be understood with understanding of perennial instability. Reasonably because of this, India is compelled to deploy security forces along the Nepal-India border and cautiously monitoring the movement of the people from across the border that the traditionally open border permits. Behind this Indian gaze remain the suspected ISI (Pakistan's intelligence service) activities in Nepal. The alleged spread of the ISI has become a crucial issue and agenda for deliberation in Nepal-India entanglement creating rapturous impact in their relationships. As the sense of insecurity across the border has heightened due to different reasons, efforts at coordinating security interests should have received the priority. Yet these countries are far from sharing the common destiny.

Nepal's experience with another neighbouring country - Bhutan - is peculiar in the sense that these two countries are presently compelled to interact with each other neither as trading nor as irredentist states but as recipient of and sender of refugees' states. Bhutan's policy of ethnic cleansing has created the exodus of the Bhutanese of Nepali origin into Nepal through crossing the third country - India. The case of refugees' repatriation since over a decade remains unattained as the government of Bhutan is not prepared to accept all the 100,000 refugees living at the UNHCR supervised camps in Nepal as its bonafide citizens. The attitude that the Bhutanese government had initially displayed towards the forcibly evicted people from their homestead was uncongenial to the extent that it had refrained to take any responsibility of the people who were ousted from their homeland. Later certain understanding was reached between Nepal and Bhutan agreeing to classify the refugee status. But instead of the swelling of the refugee number

in Nepal none returned to their homeland as controversy over the category of classification persisted. Through the halting but persistent efforts of the Nepali government supported by the humanitarian agencies from within and without, with expressed American concern on the refugee issue as well as the influence of the European Commission, Bhutan, since late 2000, has agreed to undertake verification procedure jointly with Nepal of those Bhutanese refugees living in Nepal. Accordingly, Bhutan has shown its willingness to take back those forcibly evicted citizens who possess citizenship certificate as determined by the Bhutanese Citizenship Act. Verification is done on the basis of the agreed upon four categories (e.g. Khanal 1998; Baral 1996). The way that the joint-verification has started officially at the snails' pace, it is observed that the process will take nearly 10 years to complete (Kantipur, October 23, 2001). But the gesture that Bhutan has shown after a decade of obstinacy to face the issue head-on has eased the strains creeping in the relations of the two Himalayan Kingdoms.

The problem that Nepal encountered out of the refugees' exodus from Bhutan would have been resolved earlier had India, as expected by Nepal, dissuaded Bhutan from taking this course. But the exclusivist nationalist posture that Bhutan undertook by projecting dissidents as anti-nationalists and declaring that "any Bhutanese nationals leaving the country to assist and help the anti-nationals shall no longer be considered as a Bhutanese citizen. It must also be made very clear that such people's family members living under the same household will also be held fully responsible and forfeit their citizenship." This government circular signed by the Home Minister Dago Thsering on August 17, 1990 was a catalyst in dividing Bhutanese citizens into two separate ethnic categories belonging to southern and northern Bhutan.

Negotiating on the refugee issue is indeed a new experience for Nepal because it concerns the settlement of the unwanted population constraining the economic resources of the country, directly involving the humanitarian dimension and the questions of the rights to domicile of the people evicted from their homeland. The characteristics of the refugees as being of the Nepali ethnicity having their ancestral link with the country have further complicated the situation when Bhutan alleged that these people were illegal migrants to Bhutan escaping their poverty in Nepal. To force its logic the Bhutanese government had distorted the historicity of the settlement of these people of Nepali origin in Bhutan by articulating *Drukpa* identity and transmitting it to the singular notion of one "land, race and faith" considering

ethnic diversity as a threat to the survival of a small state (Kuensel, November 14, 1992). This created a chasm between Nepal and Bhutan in their deliberation on the issue. Because on the one hand, Bhutan had refused to accept the refugees settled in Nepal as its own citizens. It has, on the other hand, publicly announce a policy expressing ethnic diversity as a threat to its national survival, identity and undermining the unity and security of the country justifying the expulsion of the unwanted citizens.

This contradictory approach of Bhutan to the issue in question led Nepal to develop a national consensus that emerged as three moderate strategies attempting to resolve the problem: a direct leadership contact, seek help from India, failing this, internationalize the issue. Leaderships contact are formally maintained, an informal sounding for India's help was discouraged, the issue of internationalization commenced through humanitarian aid agencies and UNHCR. Nepal's "quiet diplomacy," which was a compulsion than a choice, has lately bear some fruit, against the reason compelling delay in agreements reached between the two parties on refugees' repatriation. The India factor, in this case, has also surmounted other reasons for the delay and diversion of the issue. India remained unyielding to the Nepali request for refugees' repatriation fearing the process would destabilize Bhutan and its relationships with the country falling within its strategic orbit. India's failure to manage the long festering ethnic conflicts in the northeast has also discouraged it to involve - even diplomatically - in the bilateral problem between Nepal and Bhutan. India was also not in favour of any sign of militancy from the part of the refugees in their struggle for rights to domicile. Indeed, the former Indian foreign secretary J. N. Dixit while endorsing Bhutan's measures of dealing with internal problem unofficially aired such views.

If there [were] a move towards militancy, India would take firm and decisive action. Rather than ask the Bhutanese to take back the refugees, it would be more likely that we would suppress militancy. India's interest would be to quash it. We would not allow something that has a bearing on internal security to be resolved by restoring to diplomacy (Interview, Himal Magazine, July/August 1994).

In his memoir, Dixit has more explicitly opined, "India has a responsibility to ensure that socio-political changes in Bhutan occur in an orderly and gradual manner. We must be supportive of the King and his

government. Any abrupt destabilization of Bhutan or disruption of its institutions (meaning primarily the absolute monarchy) would constitute a serious strategic threat to India's security" (Dixit 1996). Prior to Dixit, his predecessor foreign secretary Muchkund Dubey had also assured Bhutan that India would not allow any activities directed against Bhutan from its soils. "In more specific terms, we would extend all possible assistance that the Royal government might seek in dealing with this problem, and that we would prevent any group which wants to enter Bhutan illegally and disturb law and order" (e.g. Kuensel, October 27, 1990). The assurances that India has provided to Bhutan on this particular issue are evident enough to encourage Bhutanese obstinacy while dealing on the issue with Nepal. Though the case appeared formally as a bilateral problem, as India posed, it was indeed a case in which the Indian complicity was proven. The Bhutanese refugees' problem has, therefore, been a three-corner contest superimposed by the Indian strategic imperatives complicating the negotiation process. In this context, Nepal again found itself as a loser in the contest for justice against utility principle.

Democratic Nepal was confident in assuming India's natural support on the issue, which was also sustained by its leaderships' historical ties with their Indian counterparts. But the realist orthodoxy of international relations has led Nepal to stand isolated on the issue. Against its expectations, Nepal found Bhutan and India as a pair in building security architecture of the sensitive area along the Siliguri corridor. Even another neighbouring state of SAARC, e.g., Bangladesh, refrained from conceding any point to the Nepali position on the issue because of its overriding priority of developing a cordial relation with Bhutan. The option of internationalizing the issue was very cautiously used avoiding any measure to jeopardize the sensitivities of another smaller state belonging to the region. The best option that Nepal therefore took out of compulsion has been slouching through the problem by trying to win back the confidence of the negotiating party that a reciprocal relationship honouring the sensitivities of each other are the best measure in avoiding tensions in their ties. The cautious movement towards the verification of the refugees' status of the Bhutanese people residing in Nepal is, therefore, certainly a positive sign of rapprochement in Nepal-Bhutan relations. Though the process of verification may be tedious and long, it has indeed opened up the possibility of refugees' repatriation to their home country, which is the fundamental diplomatic objective of Nepal in relations to Bhutan. Negotiations, in this case, have really become a joint-decision

making process in narrowing down the differences and develop compatible interests.

Apart from these interstate arenas, Nepal faces a crucial challenge for political stability and peace from within the state in the shape of the Maoist insurgency claiming nearly 7,000 lives and property damages worth hundreds of million in the past six years. Insurgents till date have declared 25 out of the 75 districts of the country under their control where the governmental presence is confined to district headquarters. Dissuading the challenges to the establishment of parallel governments in these districts for the government has become a problem because of the increasing number of killings of the civilian police contingencies posted in these areas. The development of 25,000 strong-armed police forces as well as use of security forces against the insurgents is in the inventory. But as the thinking of different political parties jockeying for position remains incoherent on the problem, the government has wavered on its decisions to face the problem head-on till the recent past. The Maoist insurgents have thrived over the indecision, differences among the political parties and the increasing unpopularity of the government of the period.

Earlier in 1996, before the insurgency started, the Maoists have tabled a 40-point demand to the government incorporating three crucial arenas of demands related to nationalism, demands relating to public welfare, and demands relating to peoples' living. These demands have covered all the socio-economic, political, foreign policy as well as security aspects concerning the country of which elections for a constituent assembly with scrapping of the Royal privilege figured prominently in the domestic context and making July 1950 treaty with India congenial to nationalism was addressed conspicuously in the foreign policy arena. Synchronizing their demands coherently, the Maoists have urged the government to consider three critical factors if the government is desirous to end further bloodshed and the commencement of civil war, which they have threatened to make inevitable in case their demands are not honoured. These three latest demands are respectively: "1) declaration of the Interim Government; 2) election to the Constituent Assembly; and 3) the Institutional development of the Republican system" (Kumar 2001).

Despite their rigid public posturing, the Maoists had, however, responded positively to the appeal of Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba (appointed to the post on July 22, 2001 after the resignation of Girija P. Koirala) to cease hostility. Two rounds of negotiations commenced with the release of some

400 of the imprisoned Maoists by the government have yet to address the substance of the issue that the Maoists have formally table at the second round held from September 13 to 14, 2001. Pressed by the public opinion to be lenient to the Maoists, the government had also withdrawn criminal cases filed against several high ranking Maoist leaders in exchange for negotiating a deal. By tacitly agreeing to negotiation, the Maoists had successfully realized their objective of releasing the captive guerrillas from their imprisonment seconded by the motive of being accepted by the government as a political force or if possible, as a parallel government with territorial control. The Maoists had pursued the negotiations for the structural transformation of the political system.

Conversely, the government, on the other hand, had moved with the objective of luring the Maoists to the constitutional fold. By adopting a policy of impunity, assurance and conciliation, the government was attempting to persuade the Maoists to enter the mainstream politics even by offering to sacrifice its entitlement to the majority rule. To this effect, the public announcement of the Prime Minister and some members of the governmental negotiating party at different forum could be attested as a testimony to its intent. These announcements had unequivocally endorsed the Maoists' contention for the forming of an interim government provided that the Maoists clarify their position on the constitutional monarchy and the multiparty democracy, which the government was not in a position to revoke under the 1990 constitution (e.g. Kantipur, October 22 and November 2, 2001).

Yet there was no narrowing down in the divergent thinking posing difficulties for the agreed upon third round of negotiation to commence. In between the period since August 30 to November 2001, violence had certainly scaled down. There were no known reports on killings from either of the protagonists. Despite such a momentous change, it was also widely suspected that both of the contending parties were seriously preparing for a final show down that may perhaps be unfortunate for resolving conflicts in the immediate future. Reportedly, the Maoists had progressively intensified their unlawful activities destroying public property, looting and even kidnapping commoners and threatening an uprising with the completion of their military arrangements for "people's war" (Rajdhani, October 29, 2001). In view of this Maoists intransigence, the Prime Minister had also warned that he will not tolerate their armed threat even though he was committed to resolve the problem peacefully (Kantipur, October 30, 2001).

The Maoists knew that the stake in stability and continuity of Deuba government rest on the resolution of these contentious problems in which the values of the contending parties are far from reconcilable. They were also aware of the fact that the government was in defensive because of the failings in democratic practices and the consequent public apathy. The public disapproval of government functioning had particularly constrained the government authority to mobilize security forces at will with a coherent constitutional mechanism at work. This had weakened the government's position vis-à-vis the Maoists leading the latter to mount their bargaining leverage more coherently to built pressure on the former and force the government to concede to their demands. The Maoists challenged the preservation of democratic values, political stability and systemic continuity by alternately pressing for the establishment of a Republic in Nepal.

The compromise that the government made was to assure the Maoists that their minimum demands would be fulfilled, perhaps by agreeing to dissolve the majority parliamentary government with the establishment of an interim government. The outcome therefore could signify that the government as being a loser in the process of bargaining for "peace and stability." As the government does not possess an electoral mandate to destroy the political system under the democratic constitution by forming an interim government, it would be a difficult commodity for the government to sell to the public and those political parties dissociated with the governmental position on negotiation with the Maoists. The government would perhaps face two-prong challenge if it were to decide to dissolve the parliament to accommodate the Maoists' demands for interim government from the adherents of present constitution as well as the public forums apathetic to the demand.

By apparently conceding to the first demand of the Maoists the government had wavered on its commitment to the democratic order functioning under the present constitutional dispensation. But the government had been preparing itself to take risk of sacrificing entitlement benefits to rule with majority against the cost-benefits of ending violence in exchange for stability. The settlement, on this score, however was not the priority of the Maoists. The goal set by the Maoists was the ultimate destruction of monarchy and parliamentary democracy in Nepal. Their mission was to weaken the power base of the state and compel the government to make far-reaching concessions. Perhaps to force an immediate compromise, the Maoists resorted to violence by unilaterally declaring the "peace talks" as irrelevant to realize their goal after the much awaited third round of talks

ended. This changed the domestic scenario in Nepal from “jaw, jaw to war, war.” The Maoists attack on a military contingent and the destruction of the Royal Nepal Army barrack resulting into fatalities on November 23, 2001 had forced the government to declare the national emergency by formally depicting the Maoists as terrorists with eventual mobilization of the army on November 26, 2001, for the first time against the insurgents. The country therefore was entangled into a web of uncertainties in domestic as well as external relationships. The situation was so complicated that the government had neither been able to win confidence of neighbours, nor had it been able to manage the domestic problems in the course of dispute settlement. Initiatives undertaken for cooperation and peace through negotiations had certainly optimized the prospect for constructive engagement. Negotiations with the Maoists, in this context, had however become the double-edged sword for the government because the government had not comprehend the situation properly and its assorted implications. The government had failed to realize the fact that negotiations can work either way in resolving the conflict as well as exacerbating the conflict. Unfortunately, any option against the case of a failed negotiation was not seriously considered. The result therefore was the hasty mobilization of troops without preparation and strategy to countervail guerrilla war.

Settling for Half a Loaf

Negotiation leads to a compromise described as mutually compatible. But, according to Anderson, “the question of compromises arises when [only] when it becomes apparent that it is better to settle for half a loaf than to get nothing at all” (Anderson 1977). Indeed, such a tendency characterizes aspects of negotiations in South Asia, which are mostly determined by the Realist power centered interactions between states. Peace therefore becomes a precious commodity that eludes the expectations of the weaker negotiating party whenever their calculus of agreements are framed by the cost-benefits or utility aspects of signing the treaty documents than determining a congenial and enduring relationship for the future.

The controversies over entitlement and cost-benefits have, therefore, become a feature in the history of negotiation. A necessary condition for attaining cooperation is a need of goal directed behaviour with sensitivities to others’ objectives and compulsions, not the unilateral behaviour being indifferent to others’ interests. As said, “cooperation can occur when actors

adjust their behaviour to the actual or anticipated preferences of others', through a process of policy coordination" (Keohane 1984). As a common denominator of cooperation, this definition emphasizes for a win-win situation for the negotiating parties irrespective of their socio-economic and power attributes. Again, this definition addresses the utility or cost-benefits conception of cooperation stressing the need of coordinating different goals to ascertain mutuality in sharing varied interests with policy adjustment to arrive at a congenial situation in order to avoid conflicts.

Bilaterally, there were numerous ways through which cooperation was achieved, particularly, in Nepal-India relations. Nepal had tacitly cooperated with India during both Sino-Indian and Indo-Pak wars. These were no strategic cooperation arrived at through explicit agreements. Perhaps Nepal has signed numerous treaties and agreements with India than any other countries based on negotiations and bargaining. But the condition under which Nepal has been forced to sign agreements by imposing Indian priorities remains a phenomenon complicating the process of understanding between the two. Ever since the signing of the July 1950 Peace and Friendship Treaty, Nepal's negotiation experiences with India on vital issues, including the water resources sharing and trade and transit problems, have widely been documented as being unsatisfactory for the weaker party. The self-image of Nepal as being the weak against strong India has psychologically played havoc in the interaction processes, which are also being determined by the increasing asymmetry between the two. The undercurrent, as noted before, is again the domestic factor influencing Nepal's diplomatic engagements with India. Coercion and concessions, side payment and lobbying are all considered facts in negotiations. In Nepal-India case, non-cooperation, however, not only be adverse to the interests of the weak but also could be punished with sanctions by the powerful (as the case of economic blockade in 1989 exemplified). This situation is succinctly described as "cooperation under security dilemma" (Jervis 1978).

Cooperation is also problematized by the mode of subjective thinking in the interstate relationships. As the norms of cooperation become equality, rights and justice, these values would be more endearing to the weak and small states than vice versa. In reality, considerations of these norms would hardly make any tangible progress in forging a relationship. Nepal's vulnerabilities have also made it openly sensitive to any form of relations that India offers sensing negative impact in domestic context. Therefore the likely mode of relationships between Nepal and India would be couched with

uncertainty, suspicion and mistrust making their ties unstable and unpredictable rather than "brotherly."

At the multilateral level, a focused endeavour towards cooperation was indeed made in the 1980s by initiating the SAARC process. The underlying motive of the process was to arrest the regional strategic drift with confidence building through interactions over the commonly shared economic issues, the success of which was expected to lead towards a strain free regional relationships by narrowing down differences even pertaining to their strategic interests. These expectations are also belied as certain progress made on the economic and human relations fronts are also buried under the sands of bilateral confrontations between India and Pakistan.

Thus, it is necessary here again to recall the *classe politique* phenomenon that have developed an entrenched interest to thwart any initiatives towards a better future. This political class aided by the military-industrial complex and the scientific establishment has not only distorted the meaning and objectives of being political leaders of sovereign and independent countries but also the context of being independent and sovereign. Preservation of territorial integrity and maintaining internal control remains the fundamental objective of the political class in any state. This practice, however, should also be observed with respect and recognition of others' integrity and rights. The violation of this institutional premise and practice of the states naturally invites conflicts. The imbroglio over Kashmir is perhaps the result of the violation of the norms that states should practice. The problem however is also overstated by the claims to the entitlement of the territory but rejected by the voices arising out of Kashmir demanding independence. The Kashmiris' voices of independence are again drowned in the contentious claims of both India and Pakistan as their objectives against independence for Kashmir are paired. There is element of tacit cooperation between India and Pakistan to oppose the independence motive of the Kashmiri people. If this can be called a negative cooperation for amplifying their clashes of interests involving national security, national identity and territorial integrity, both the rival countries can also attempt for a positive cooperation on the agenda considering that their interests would be better served and security preserved if they were to avoid clashes in Kashmir. Also, by considering the implementation of agreed upon power supply deal as well as taking initiatives towards a nuclear restraint regime as conceived by the Lahore declaration, they can make their engagements constructive by discouraging destructive motives.

It should also be recognized that the individual means of security, that is the military power of the state, has also become an inadequate and insufficient instrument in preserving the security interests of the states arrayed against the intra-state and inter-state disputes. In the case of India and Pakistan, the consideration of the nuclear use by the *classe politique* has dissolved the military power to guarding the post than its professional thrust of fighting and defeating the enemy. Small states in South Asia do not even have this national means to rely on properly (as the case of Nepal indicates). They see their security better preserved by the power of the other. This security practice has made smaller states more dependent on their powerful neighbours whom they see both as protector as well as predator. By contrast, the security practice of big and powerful states differ as their central decision makers or the national security elite rely heavily on the national means to determine their security interests through self-help (Alagappa 1998). The central decision makers in India, who have increasingly become wedded to the concept of national security through military power, have practiced security with "expediency, arising from deficiencies in national power; and conviction based on the existence of evolution of norms against untrammelled pursuit of power and exercise of coercion" (Bajpai 1998). Influenced by the precept of peaceful coexistence, India is, indeed, opposed to any aggressive use of force but there are certain attributes of power, besides the military, that India has not hesitated to use in the course of its pursuit for power. Examples are the cases of economic blockade against Nepal, food drop violating Sri Lankan air space and support to Shanti Bahini against Bangladesh. India is also convinced of itself as being a power, which should be respected and recognized. This conviction may be further supplemented by a sustained economic growth (around 6 percent) leading it to evolve policy initiatives to achieve its aspired role in the region. Along with this, the nuclear trappings, as observed by Kissinger (2001), has certainly raised India's ambition to the world power status.

Bajpai (1998) has also noted that the economic crisis of the early 1990s had reversed India's role to a Nehruvian fold determined by the expediency of cooperation, the reversal of this policy in an ideational mould has occurred with the May 1998 nuclear weapons' tests exemplified by increasing defence allocations, and restructuring of the security apparatuses to emerge as a powerful national security state. As Tanham (1992) has noted, geography, culture, history and the British rule mold the Indian strategic thinking. The overwhelming influence of the British security practice in the security

conception of the Indian central decision-makers in the post-colonial period is depicted in the Indian security doctrine with a warning to hand-off the extra-regional powers to infringe in regional affairs. On the other hand, by strictly confining cooperative incentives under bilateralism, India has discouraged even-level play in the South Asian geopolitics. But the interactive format construed on bilateralism has, unfortunately, defeated India's aspiration to emerge as a hegemonic power through regional consensus by legitimizing its role as such (Ayoob 1989-90; Ahmed 1993).

India could have achieved the role legitimization through consensus building to certain extent had it demonstrated its political will by undertaking mediation in refugees' repatriation issue between Nepal and Bhutan. By overzealously guarding a wrong cause under the rubric of bilateralism, India inversely supported a partisan interest than being and becoming bipartisan. This is, in fact, unbecoming of a major power. Instead, India could have invested its diplomatic influence and power of persuasion to resolve the refugees' crisis in the beginning by projecting itself as a credible democratic state sensible to the issues involving human rights. Both the neighbours could have accepted India's mediatory role easily by legitimizing its interests of being a regional power collectively. This role expectation did not materialized. An opportunity for consensus building, therefore, was lost.

On the other hand, the commitment that India had made by signing the 1996 trade treaty with Nepal was irrevocable in the sense that the treaty was a long considered concession provided by a strong and friendly country to a weak and dependent neighbour to meet the latter's development aspirations through intensive economic interactions. India's behavioural pursuit, in this context, is incredible. The unilateral imposition of luxury tax, quarantine charges and anti-dumping tax in the export of Nepali commodities like banaspati ghee and zinc oxide and copper wire by the provincial state governments in India are the violation of the intent and spirit of the treaty in effect. Reportedly, India has also proposed unpalatable conditions for the renewal of the treaty at the recently concluded secretary level talks in New Delhi and Kathmandu (Kantipur, October 20 and November 5, 2001). As well, the Nepali aspirations for the constructive cooperation on water resources sharing by concluding Mahakali River Treaty remains buried under the technical morass of the DPR.

Both the trade and water resources sharing issues involve Nepal's development aspirations that can only be sustained by India's unwavering support and assistance. Muni (2001) is explicit in suggesting that genuine

"differences and tensions" will guide Nepal's development aspirations, which may also evolve a thrust for a constructive engagement between Nepal and India in the future. But the question remains, on what cost such a constructive engagement should be realized? Should Nepal always settle for half a loaf than what it is entitled to? The treaties signed in 1996 were termed as constructive engagement. But these treaties did not put the past strains into the past. These treaties have led the Nepali decision-makers now to burn the mid-night oil.

Some Observations

The universal concern for peace and cooperation is stifled by the security sensitivities of the states in South Asia. Preponderant military approach to national security has unfortunately made the concept of governance entirely irrelevant to societal sensitivities. Thus, as most of the South Asian states are entangled in the simmering intra-state conflicts, the human face of security lapses when it is needed most. This being the case, cooperation has become difficult to attain by renouncing conflict, which is an imperative to achieve peace. According to Buzan (1984), peace as a concept "emphasises both the international system as a whole, and individuals as its ultimate building bloc." The peace perspective relegates state and conflict to insignificance by emphasizing the dynamics of harmony between and within states. "Peace directs attention towards the need to remove violence in relations between and within states. The peace perspective is oriented towards solving the insecurity problem by removing its causes," Buzan says. Against this concept of peace and cooperation (harmony) are arrayed the concept of power and security. Power is related to the individual state's capacity to administer and control internally and pursue competitive interests within the state system. Security, on the other hand, is a pursuit of a policy to find methods to satisfy the legitimate concern of the states, without, at the same time, jeopardizing the sense of insecurity among them (Buzan 1984).

Peace explores the methods to create universal condition for the elimination of violence and war. The concept of peace, however, fails to understand the role of states under anarchy, which are self-righteously defined and justified irrespective of international norms. As the peace perspective neglects the state at the core of international system, the attainment of peace is emotive as well as imaginative than substantive. Because states under anarchy are least inclined to develop a taste for

collective interests than prone to preserve self-interests making peace essentially difficult to achieve. As the states are profoundly influenced by their self-interests of preserving territorial integrity, political stability and regime security, they would, moreover, be guided by their preference to power and security than peace and cooperation. South Asia is not an exception in this regard.

The South Asian experience is that states in the region have failed to evolve a coherent, peaceful and harmonious society internally. If their intra-state relations are so marred with conflicts, their inter-state relations are not different. Relations pursued from the standpoint of national security are a pointer towards difficulties in interactions and understanding between and among South Asian states. Domestic fragility and external uncertainty in relationships have amplified the insecurity dilemma of the states that has further eroded the prospect for peace and cooperation, as two major states in South Asia are at the verge of war and rest of the small states are left to fend for themselves in the absence of regional cooperation.

For example, Nepal is threatened with the enormity of economic problems and violent insurgency. Its uncertainty is therefore related to the weak natural base and governments without governance. Unending civil war and fear of disintegration ascertain Sri Lankan insecurity. Bangladesh remains a basket case with population implosion. Whereas Pakistan has already been depicted as a failed state. Comparably, India stands fairly apart in characterizing such features of states in South Asia. But the problems and challenges facing India are also in extremity. If one were to narrate the features of the problems that the states in South Asia face, which are moreover identical, there should have been a collective interest to share and initiatives taken for cooperation to resolve them.

The legal bearings of treaties, agreements and understandings, the norms set by diplomatic conducts, the culture and tradition emanating from civilizational bond as well as the public sentiments have all become inadequate explanatory tools for comprehending the interactive process and development of relationships in South Asia. Why and how has this happened? One understandable feature is the past failings. For instance, both the Simla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration were genuine moves made to manage Indo-Pak relations. These understandings were reached in the aftermath of two crucial historical episodes: the Bangladesh War 1971 and the Nuclear tests in 1998. Once violated, these agreements became the contentious issues driving the energies of the protagonists to name-calling.

The fate of numerous bilateral and multilateral documents signed in the diplomatic history of South Asia after 1947 is also not different.

A compelling reason therefore is the nature of the *classe politique*. The ego, identity and interests of the ruling elite have provided meanings to their objective in constructing security practice by reflecting negatively on the security practice of the other. This self-regarding interest of the states led them to be manipulative by exploiting others' weakness to satisfy one's interests. The chasm such interaction creates is conflict generating, which should have been discouraged with alternative thinking on cooperative security. The element of positivism in cooperative security is that states identify with each other as equals and security of each is perceived as responsibilities of all.

The constitutive structure of South Asia, easily identifiable as a geographical compact, should have encouraged a tendency towards building a regional compact as the failure in one territorially defined sovereign state can have immeasurable social, economic, demographic and relational impact on other. Conjecturally, India as the largest and accessible state in the region stands cursed to bear the burnt of state failures in South Asia. Perhaps India can easily defend its territory in case of aggression. But it would be a really insurmountable challenge for India to prevent the human movement towards it whenever any of the other states in the region - Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka - fail to manage domestic chaos either caused by national disintegration or by natural or political calamities of unprecedented magnitude. The exodus of 10 million refugees from East Pakistan during the Bangladesh war, or say nearly 2-3 million Bangladeshis illegal migrants and nearly 2-4 million Nepalis working in India under the reciprocal treatment clause stipulated in the 1950 treaty may qualify this contention.

Given India's potentialities in the future in comparison to retarding progress in the neighbourhood, the situational factor has primarily made India as a base for migration from its periphery and this population flow perhaps would not facilitate a ground to play power politics and ideational role for India. The challenges to Indian security in the future, thus, relates much to the circumstances in which states surrounding it are; not in their unidimensional military power but in their governance and societal relationships. In this case, the regional relationships defined in anarchist mode, power politics, self-interest and self-help would all be swamped under the morass of the human tragedies. Neither the computerized power game simulation nor the military contingency planning would be adequate for India

to adjust with state failures. It is thus advisable that the genius who chants security *mantras* with nuclear proliferation should, at least, try to comprehend this possibility and also work towards developing a national security doctrine to deter the human calamity caused by misgovernance in the region.

It would, indeed, be a tall order to think about deterring such human tragedy. Realism is silent in contemplating such a possible phenomenon. The liberal approach to construct security and peace is a wide net that remains debatable. Without being engrossed in such theoretical marsh, a consensus, however, can be forged to change attitude towards conflicts, war and security consciously because these have brutalized the South Asian image as "a most dangerous place on the earth,"- to borrow the former US President Clinton's depiction.

Although, culture changes slowly, one need not be a pacifist to see that experiences that South Asia gained through conflicts and wars have served no possible rational cause. Wars, however, have served the purpose of *classe politique* to make some political gains as the recent Kargil fighting substantially helped restore the popularity of Prime Minister Vajpayee in India. But this gain cost India Rs 15 crores a day and fighting for 74 days defending its territory. It was in 1999 and the total economic cost of Kargil conflict then, besides young blood and equipment, was Rs.1, 110 crores (India Today, July 26,1999). As noted, a recently estimated cost of fighting a two-week battle to destroy the alleged "terrorist camps" across the LOC is Rs. 5,000 crores in 2001 (Chawla 2001). The deployment of 500,000-700,000 Indian troops along the Indo-Pak border at the conservatively estimated cost of Rs. 200 crore a month after December 13, 2001 terrorist attack on Indian Parliament has not substantially changed the situation. (Rather this coercive diplomacy has aggravated the Indo-Pak tensions.) The withdrawal of troops may become another additional burden for national exchequer. The enormity of the cost of conflict, as the total cost of Kargil fighting indicates, could have provided clean drinking water to about 75,000 Indian villages. Rs.5, 000 crores can meet the cost of building a 1000 MW power plant to generate electricity for home and industry, as a primary estimate implies (Reddy 1998). However, the belief that defence is the core of national security and sovereignty has led to develop the military muscle of states at the cost of social sector, which, in fact, is the true indicator of national capacity and resilience than some crude nuclear weapons.

If conflicts and wars had provided some short-term gains for the *classe politique* (Indira Gandhi benefiting from Bangladesh war and Atal Bihari Vajpayee from Kargil conflict), these conflicts had also deprived the citizenry of their basic needs. Consequently, deprivation and denial of rights have become the rational cause for domestic dissonance and disputes weakening the national power in India as well as other South Asian countries. Thinking security in terms of territorial integrity at the cost of national economic disruption compounded by domestic dissonance needs to be reassessed in the context that the territorial integrity as well as the rulers' legitimacy are moreover challenges from within. The sources of challenges are the social cleavages, which are dangerously moving towards the violent edge. The lessons to the *classe politique*, therefore, are their failed governance making the situation within the countries of South Asia increasingly ungovernable. Learning can start from rethinking over the challenges from within and without and learn from others' experiences, if possible.

In this context, it is advisable to ponder on John Mueller's observation in restructuring the mindset of *classe politique* premised on the Realist paradigm of international interactions under anarchy to comprehending whether the idea of conflict and war remains a "conceivable option"? Accordingly, he surmises that

An idea becomes impossible not when it becomes reprehensible or has been renounced, but when it fails to percolate into one's consciousness as a conceivable option. Thus, two somewhat paradoxical conclusions about the avoidance of war can be drawn. On the one hand, peace is likely to be formed when war's repulsiveness and futility is fully evident - as when horrors are dramatically and inevitably catastrophic. On the other hand, peace is most secure when it gravitates away from *conscious rationality* to become a *subrational*, unexamined mental habit.... Peace, in other words, can proved to be habit forming, addictive (Mueller 1989, emphasis added).

If Kashmir remains the most dreadful factor imperilling peace in South Asia, it is for Pakistan to objectively decide whether the agreed upon partition across the Radcliff Line was incomplete. The conflict over Kashmir can be

reassessed from this point and the gains that Pakistan has made from two wars over Kashmir with India. The record is straight in indicating that Pakistan as a weak and war-initiating state in the subcontinent is a loser. Fighting a war to loose can no more be a rational option. This is particularly so between India and Pakistan, which are not only heavily armed but also, nuclear armed. The continued stalemate on the issue has proved that conflict has to be negotiated out rather than fought out causing astounding damage to national economy and human psyche. The need for the classe politique is, therefore, to change their fighting habits to negotiating habits by making war as "subrationally unthinkable" option for both the prosperity and the prospect for peace in South Asia.

Negotiating cooperation and peace also requires the powerful to desist from its desire to set rules based on a process of reducing the regional relationships to a supplicant framework. The theoretical construct of peace based on the power matrix with sustained habits and interests to absorb the heat of challenges by systematically peripheralizing or neutralizing undercurrents of strategic defiance would again be adverse to the peace process. Desire for peace in the region is not simply an illusion. This desire can be transformed into reality through commitments to genuinely negotiate conflicts. Scaling down of conflict requires either unilateral decision or mutual compliance in favour of unpacking threat rather than by continuing armament and deployment of troops at the sensitive or disputed areas. Conflict should not lead the relations to crowd out. Attempts to mitigate conflict can lead to a better order. The first step towards peace initiative should be taken by reintroducing and implementing the existing and agreed upon agreements honestly. Peace preserves the value of being a nation-state, which is ultimately directed towards the economic well being of the people and creating conducive environment for social integration within the state, not the rupture in social peace and the destruction of values of being a state.

Note

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HEALTH NEEDS IN TWO ETHNIC COMMUNITIES OF HUMLA DISTRICT, NEPAL

Kimber Haddix-McKay

Introduction

This report summarizes findings from a primary health care baseline study conducted in September and October of 1999, in upper Humla district, Nepal.¹ This study establishes measures of health conditions in Humla, and constitutes a baseline against which progress in improving the health services and conditions for local people may be measured. This report is an integral piece of the process of primary health care development in Humla, a remote region with scant record of health statistics at the village level. In addition to the Ministry of Health and its staff and partners, a number of NGOs are working in the health sector in the district, including the ISIS Foundation, Unitarian Services Committee Canada, Nepal, The Nepal Trust, and Appropriate Technology Asia. Public health projects focused on such technologies as safe drinking water systems, latrines and smokeless stoves, are underway, as well as projects focused on primary health care services themselves. This and subsequent papers will record, measure, and publish data to help assess the progress that has been made in improving health conditions in this area.

Site: Humla District, Nepal

District Description: Humla District is located in the remote northwestern corner of Nepal. Straddling 30°N latitude and lying between 81° and 82° longitude, Humla is one of Nepal's "High Himalayan" districts². It is one of the most isolated regions in Nepal, reachable only by foot or on the small planes that land irregularly in the district capital, Simikot. The district lacks roads altogether and indicators of development are correspondingly low: there are no hospitals (though an under-equipped health post exists in Simikot) and literacy rates are among the lowest in the country: 28% for

males and 5% for females (USCC statistics). Population density is also very low, less than ten persons per square kilometre (UN Publications 1997). This is due partly to the fact that along with the other northwestern districts of Nepal (Manang, Mustang, Dolpo, and Mugu), Humla has relatively low total fertility rates. The total fertility rate (total births per woman) for the district was estimated at 4.5 in both 1986 and 1991, while the rest of Nepal was 6 in 1985 and 5.6 in 1990 (UN Publications 1997, World Population Profile 1996). The relatively low total fertility rates in the northwestern regions may reflect the proportion of their populations that is composed of polyandrous Tibetans. Polyandry is a marriage system practiced by many ethnic Tibetans in this area, and allows a single woman to have multiple husbands simultaneously. The common practice is for a woman to marry a man and all of his brothers, and to have sexual relationships with each of them. Unmarried women do not typically have children in this system and are thus excluded from the pool of reproductive women. At an aggregate level, this practice depresses the fertility rate.

Existing Infrastructure: The Nepali civil organizational unit of importance to this report is the Village Development Committee, or VDC. There are nearly 4000 VDCs in Nepal. Each VDC is divided into nine wards. Ward representatives elect members of the District Development Committee (DDC). Prior to the democratization of Nepal in 1990, areas roughly corresponding to today's VDCs were called panchayats. In contrast to the panchayat era, VDC representatives can be male or female and are democratically elected to their positions. Chairmen, or women, even at the VDC level, are treated with deference and respect by local people, and it is critical to have their approval before pushing ahead with any program³.

Though the acronym 'VDC' in fact refers to a governing body, in practice it is usually used to refer to a village or a collection of villages. Where villages are large, a VDC is comprised of one village, broken down into wards, or subsections of the village. Where villages are small, a VDC is comprised of several villages, or clusters of wards. This is usually the case in Humla. Data for this study were collected in Thehe VDC, Syada VDC, Kangal VDC, and Muchu VDC. Thehe and Syada VDCs are comprised mainly of Chettris, and Kangal and Muchu VDCs entirely of Lamas. For this study, seven villages were surveyed; one in Thehe VDC, three in Syada VDC, one in Kangal VDC, and two in Muchu VDC.

Nepal cannot keep up with the health demands of its population, in part because of an under-funded health system, but also because many districts are remote and communications and delivery of supplies are extremely difficult, if not impossible. During the data-collection period, the National Polio Day occurred, on which the Polio division at UNICEF attempted to vaccinate every child less than ten years of age in Nepal. It was a massive effort, requiring intensive coordination and organization, and many children were vaccinated. However, in Humla vaccinating all children was simply impossible due to the distance of many villages from Simikot and the absence of a cold chain along the way. In order to reach all of the children in the district, health workers had to walk from Simikot with coolers containing the vaccine. The coolers kept the vaccine cold for a maximum of three days—but many villages in Humla are more than four hard days walk from Simikot. And because villagers did not know that the vaccinators were coming, more than 75% of Lama children needing vaccination were in even more distant yak pastures, as they always are at that time of year. These factors combined made the total-eradication goal of the UNICEF Polio division impossible, at least in Humla. This failure exemplifies some of the obstacles faced by national health programs.

According to Purdey (1998), there were 33 hospitals in Nepal in 1950, with twelve doctors and 600 beds, for a national population of 8.7 million. In 1979 there were 745 health posts and the population had reached 14 million. In the 1990s a strong emphasis on rural health care had emerged in the Nepali national health program, and by 1996 the number of sub-health posts had increased 12-fold, from 200 to 2597 (Hotchkiss 2001, quoting HMG/Nepal, Ministry of Finance, 1996). Only recently has the focus of the national health system turned from clean drinking water programs to meeting the primary health needs of the country (Purdey 1998: 7-8).

However, in remote areas like Humla, the government simply can not meet the needs of the populace. Formally trained health workers, all government employees, are posted to remote areas but many begin preparations for transfer immediately after arrival. A remote posting is challenging for non-local health workers, as they lack appropriately trained support staff, rarely have supplies, often work in dark, cold buildings without furniture (even examination beds for patients), and without proper social support. Additionally, most of the people they need to help are uneducated about health, do not have a germ theory of disease, and often cannot understand or follow directions for treatment.

Training female health workers for remote areas is especially important given the Nepalese combination of gender roles discouraging men from attending births and the extraordinarily high rate of maternal and infant mortality. Additionally, women are the primary cooks and caretakers of young children, and need to be the targets of much essential health education. Female health workers would most effectively deliver this education. However, for female health workers, a remote posting can be especially challenging and isolating. During this study this was most obvious in Syada, where the female health worker faced all of the challenges described above, in addition to a two day walk between her home and her post, which she traveled once or twice monthly, accompanied by a breast-fed child. It is unusual for women to travel that far alone, especially in Hindu communities (she is a Lama from one of the Thehe VDC Lama wards), and that probably contributed to her sense of isolation in the traditional Hindu village where her post was.

Despite challenges, a national health-care delivery system does exist even in remote areas. In Humla there is a health post in Simikot, and each VDC in the study also has a sub-health post. The most powerful health figure at the district level is the District Health Officer (DHO), who is stationed in Simikot. The DHO at the time of this study had only recently been transferred to Humla, and thought he might soon be transferred to another district. With him worked a District Public Health Officer, a nurse, and other staff and peons. According to nearly all of the people with whom we spoke, it is often only the peon who is available at both the health post and sub health post level. Although the peon is authorized only to unlock the door, remove trash, etc., many villagers who had visited a health post or sub-health post had received medicine from a peon.

According to the staffing requirements of national health system, each VDC should be furnished with an auxiliary health worker, a village health worker, and a maternal and child health worker. In Humla, few in fact are, due to remoteness, and the difficulties in transportation and staff support presented by the terrain and conditions.

Villages Surveyed: Humla is nearly bisected by the Karnali River, a major source of the Ganges River. It cuts a steep gorge into the northwestern part of the district. The villages surveyed for this study, Thehe, Santa, Syada, Kholasi, Kermi, Yelbaun, and Yengar, are located on its banks. Simikot, the district capital, is also located on the Karnali, on the north bank. It is the district's

largest population center, and has the only market in the region. Flights to Simikot from Nepalganj, a town on the Indian border, arrive three or four days a week, weather permitting. Some flights deliver trekkers en route to Mount Kailas in Western Tibet, which can be reached by hiking up the Karnali River. Others deliver food and supplies for the market, as well as local passengers. From Simikot, one can walk three hours east to Bargaun, a Lama village of the Nyinba people.

Nearly one thousand feet below Bargaun is the Hindu village of Thehe, the second largest population center in Humla (Purdey 1998). Thehe VDC contains six wards of Hindus and three of Lamas. Thehe village itself contains three hundred twenty-one households. It is extremely poor and land-stressed, and standards of living are very low. Compared with the Nyinba of Bargaun, who through polyandry and clever business practices have kept their people-to-land ratio low and productive, the people of Thehe suffer living conditions that are extremely difficult. Most people in Thehe belong to the Chettri caste, though there are a handful of Bahun households, and an entire ward (including 65 households) of occupational castes as well. Members of the occupational castes are mainly blacksmiths, cobblers and tailors, and they are the primary wood collectors for the village. Eighty-eight percent of them do not use the communal taps located in central places in the village, opting instead to collect water from nearby springs or rivers (USCC 1991).

One day's walk to the west of Simikot, over the steep Simikot La (pass) and across to the south side of the Karnali River, is Syada VDC. It contains four villages: Yangu, Santa, Syada and Kholsi. We surveyed three of these, including Santa (twenty-seven households), Syada (one hundred twenty-five households) and Kholsi (fifty-four households). These villages are unusual, as they are mainly comprised of a group of people whose culture combines elements of both Hindu and Buddhist systems. In the anthropological literature they are referred to as Bura or Byansi people (Levine 1987). When asked about their origins, however, local people carefully denied any links to Lama traditions and identified themselves as Chettris, Brahmins, or as members of occupational castes. This is no doubt due to the general low esteem in which Lama people are held by Hindus, who think of them as relatively backwards and uncivilized (particularly distasteful to Hindus are the practice of polyandry and the consumption of beef, which occur among Lamas).

Kholasi is composed almost entirely of members of the Thakuri caste, an ancient royal caste from the Malla period. Their strict marriage rules allow them only to marry other Thakuris, which is limiting since there are so few Thakuris in this area. Traditionally, Thakuris expect to be addressed by other Nepalese with the royal honorific form of Nepali, and some tension arises over this between them and other Nepalese. The contradiction between this expectation and the extreme poverty in which inhabitants of Kholasi live (the worst in this VDC) has presented some obstacles for development efforts made by non-Thakuri Nepalese in Kholasi.

A five-hour walk to the northwest of Kholasi, back to the north side of the Karnali River lays Kermi village, one of the ward-clusters of Kangal VDC. It is entirely Lama, composed of ethnic Tibetan Buddhists, who speak Tibetan as their first language, follow the traditions of the Nyingmapa lineage of Tibetan Buddhism, and practice polyandry (about 35% of marriages are polyandrous in 1996, and 42% of the monogamous marriages used to be polyandrous before brothers split up and remarried monogamously, see Haddix McKay, this volume). There are two small village monasteries in Kermi, where a number of celibate monks and nuns go during the months of the year dedicated to religious activity. There are nearly eighty households in Kermi.

Five hours walk beyond Kermi, across another pass and tributary to the Karnali River are the villages of Yelbaun and Yengar, part of Muchu VDC. Like Kermi, Yelbaun and Yengar are Lama villages, containing about 20 households apiece. Between them is Namkha Khyun Zong monastery, a large Nyingmapa monastery that draws monks from all of the surrounding Lama villages. Yengar boasts a small hydroelectric project, built some years ago by a Dutch development organization. It has suffered from not having any maintenance funds and from the lack of local repairmen. When working, it provides enough electricity for several lightbulbs per house in Yengar, and for the monastery. There is also a small primary school nearby, with a boarding facility for children who come from other villages. Also between Yengar and Yelbaun is a small privately funded health clinic run by staff of The Nepal Trust, a Scottish-registered charity and non-government organization. The clinic has two local staff members.

Living conditions in all of the villages in the study are difficult. Houses are small, poorly ventilated, and unlit. Most are built in three stories, with domestic stock kept in rooms on the lowest level, the main room (for cooking, sleeping and eating) and storage rooms on the middle level, and

storage rooms (for equipment and hay) above. The third level of the house is mostly open—comprised of the roof of the second level, at the back of which (against the hillside) are the storage rooms. When the weather is nice the rooftops are sunny and pleasant and are the primary site of public meetings, domestic chores such as threshing, children's play, and general socializing. The main room may have a wood floor, but is often made of hardened mud (re-plastered regularly with a cow-dung and water mixture), and is centered on the cooking fire. There may be one small window in this room, but most light comes from the fire and a hole in the flat roof above it. The hole is partially shaded to keep out rain and snow, and is to let light in and smoke out. Generally, this room is extremely smoky, and when the fire is burning it is impossible to stand without eye and lung discomfort.

Except for in Yengar, none of the houses have electricity or running water. In most villages there are central taps (two or three per village), which work sporadically and provide unfiltered water (as they draw from streams uphill from the villages they probably are contaminated by domestic stock in the pastures above).

Most villages are compact, with houses built on top of each other on hillsides, leaving little space in between. In some villages, it is possible to walk from one end to the other without leaving the flat rooftops. Trails in between houses are often deep in mud and are littered, often with human excrement. Although there has been limited progress on latrine projects in Thehe and Syada, at the time of this study there had been little progress made in other VDCs, either in building latrines or in convincing people to use the ones that have been built. In Thehe there have been land availability problems and superstition surrounding latrine projects. Fields are considered sacred and off-limits as latrine locations, and villagers claim that there is no available space within the village itself.

Study Objectives and Limitations

The main objective in conducting this study was to develop a baseline measure of health conditions. This was to allow Humla NGOs working in health to measure progress in improving health conditions over time. Subsequent studies will provide an opportunity to identify and target the areas in which NGOs need to focus their efforts. The research team pursued six areas of inquiry: hygiene and sanitation, immunization and vitamin

programs, disease prevalence, attitudes about disease treatment, childbirth and family planning practices, and anthropometry.

The research team faced certain limitations. The primary one was that the people we interviewed were themselves mystified by their own health and illness, and by the treatment they had received on the occasions they had actually visited a doctor or nurse. Villagers were unsure about the vaccinations their children had received and they did not know the names of the conditions they suffer, or even how to describe them accurately. Very few people suffering from sickness had ever seen a doctor, and even those who had were often unable to remember the name of their condition. Some of the diagnoses they did remember seemed improbable (this may have been due to a lack of proper diagnostic equipment available to the DHO and other health workers). Second, the research team did not have time to physically enter every household, see every sick villager, or interview each person. Consequently we relied upon a 25-30% sample of households for our in-depth interviews, and upon group interviews and the reports of VDC and Ward chairmen and other knowledgeable villagers for tabulations of the numbers of people suffering from various conditions. In the author's experience in Humla (based on extensive anthropological fieldwork there in 1995, 1996 and 1998), group interviews on topics such as this yield quite accurate results, as villagers are intimately aware of the conditions of life in every household in their village.

Composition of Sample/Data Collection Methods

The sample upon which the following analyses are based is drawn from the seven villages described above: Thehe, Syada, Santa, Kholsi, Kermi, Yelbaun, and Yengar. The research team aimed to survey between 25 and 30% of all of the households in each village, yielding a total of 105 households surveyed. The interviewees were the male head of the household, his wife, or the female head of the household if her husband had died. The mean age of the interviewee was 39.9, and the range of ages of people interviewed was from 20 to 95.

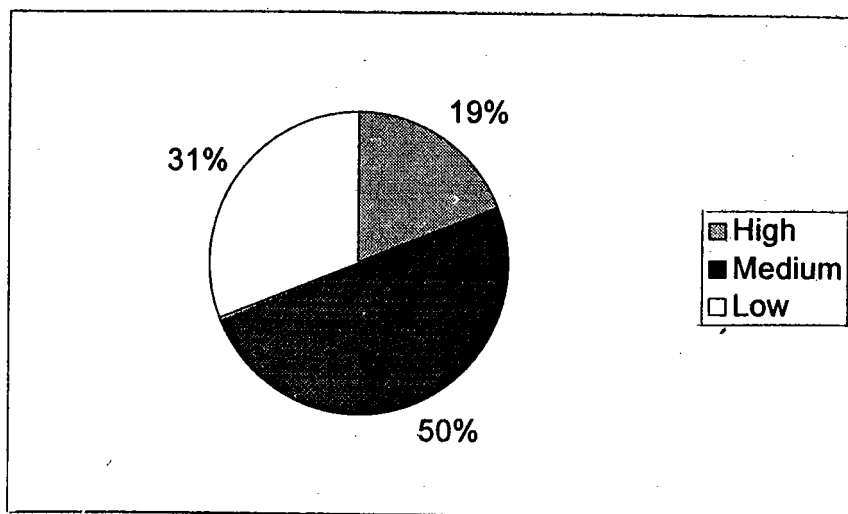
Data were collected by the author and a research assistant from Kermi village, Mr. Angjuk Lama. We began with group interviews in each village, with the VDC Chairman and/or the Ward Chairmen and other knowledgeable people, and had a general discussion about health and development, treatment practices, locally perceived needs, and health problems that people felt were

specific to their village. One-on-one interviews were then conducted, using the questionnaire. Data were entered and analyzed on a PC, using the data analysis package JMP IN (SAS Institute 1996).

The sample was stratified in order to have households of varying amounts of wealth represented. This is because we suspected that the amount of wealth that household members had access to might affect their ability to afford medical care, and that amount of wealth and education about health might be correlated in a way that affected health-seeking behavior. The method to ascertain each household's wealth we used was based upon USCC's threefold (high/medium/low) categorization of households in Syada VDC (USCC 1999) and upon the author's threefold wealth categorization in Kermi, Yengar and Yelbaun (Haddix 1998). USCC used number of fields and herds, house size, and other indicators of wealth per household, in addition to subjective wealth categorizations by independent villagers, to develop their wealth categories and the assignment of houses to those categories. Haddix' (1998) categorization was also based upon the number of fields and herds owned by each household and the social categorization of wealth by independent villagers. In Thehe village there are no appreciable differences in wealth among villages, aside from the difference between the occupational castes and the rest of the villagers. The research team included occupational caste households in its survey of Thehe (50% of households surveyed in Thehe were occupational caste households). Figure 1 shows the breakdown of the households surveyed into each of the wealth categories.

In the following analyses, results are stratified in three ways, to most completely characterize the differences among sub-populations in the area. The first is by wealth, as described above. The second is by ethnicity, broken down into two categories: Hindu and Buddhist. Some differences in wealth, family system, diet, elevation, and beliefs about health are captured in these two categories⁴, and this difference is reflected in some of the variables that were analyzed. Finally, data are stratified by village. This provides a snapshot of conditions in each village, though there were few significant differences among villages on any of the variables measured.

Figure 1: Categorization of households in sample by wealth



Study Foci

Hygiene and Sanitation: In order to understand local people's understanding of the importance of hygiene and sanitation for health, the research team asked a series of questions pertaining to this subject in both the group and the one-on-one interviews. Responses to these questions were so uniform that it is not necessary to describe them statistically. Instead, conditions are described as reported by informants.

Cleanliness: Adults tend to bathe two or three times a month, using water from streams or taps and soap when it is available. More commonly, because few families can afford soap, people use an herb culled from the local forest called *naru*. Babies are bathed once every three or four days and children once a week at most. Most bathing is done in cold water, unless people have time to heat water (e.g., no time during harvest). In Kermi there are natural hot springs where people go to bathe and wash their clothes regularly.

Around the house, people clean up when there is time. Dirty water is usually thrown into the kitchen garden or some other place from the roof, and sweepings from the floor are thrown in the same place. Pots, plates and utensils are usually washed with water or with water and mud or water and husks. Food is almost always served on just-washed plates (people tend to wash up just before the next meal), and even boiled food is therefore often contaminated by unboiled water. When there is leftover food, women cover it if they think of it, but often do not. In general women did not seem to

understand the importance of covering leftovers. Few mothers made connections between leftover food storage, flies, and worms, which was not surprising since very few women had a clear idea about how people contract worms. Some women thought worms were contracted from eating meat or green vegetables, some from general lack of hygiene, and some from eating uncooked foods.

Drinking water: No one has to walk far for water, due to the central taps and to plentiful streams in and around the villages. In Thehe, where USCC has been working for some time, and in Syada VDC, where USCC recently started working, many people understood the importance of safe drinking water, but said that in practice they rarely boiled water, for lack of time and/or firewood. In other villages people had not received any education about safe drinking water and were not aware of its benefits.

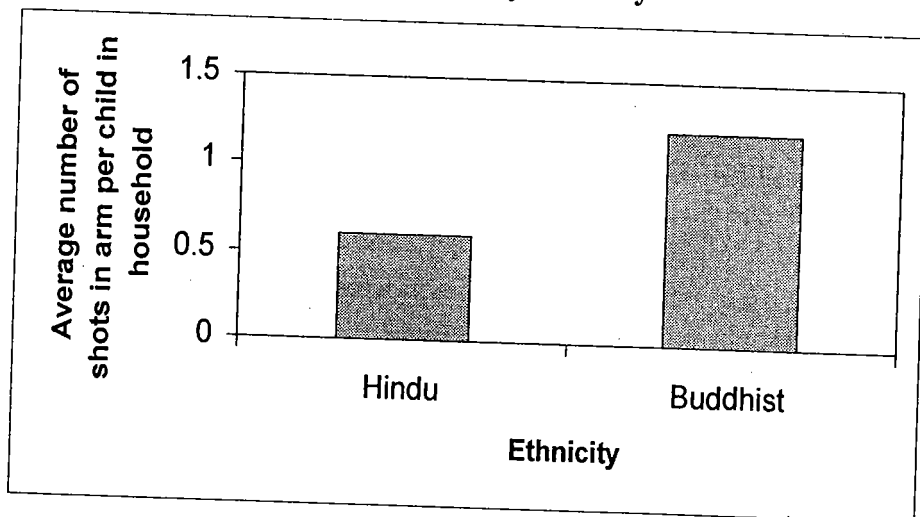
Latrine-use: Most people claimed to wash their hands after urination/defecation, but in the many months that the author spent in Lama villages doing anthropological research, this was rarely observed. No one in this study said that they used latrines, even in Syada, where USCC has constructed one. In general people were receptive to the idea of latrines, though in practice USCC has had difficulty in Thehe with this project. Lama villagers in particular were interested in latrine projects and enthusiastic about getting them started, though at present they lack the materials and know-how necessary to start a project themselves.

Efficacy of Immunization and Vitamin Programs: Information on immunizations was difficult to obtain. The main problem that we faced was that no one had a vaccination card for any child, and people simply had no idea about the vaccinations that their children had received. Mothers did remember children getting shots at different times, and could remember how many times this occurred, but they rarely knew if the shots their children had received were vitamin shots, anti-biotics for illness, or immunizations against specific diseases. Nepal has had National Polio and National Vitamin A programs, as well as efforts to provide all children with DPT (1/2/3) and BCG vaccinations. Very few villagers had ever heard of any of these programs, and were not aware of the existence of national-level Polio or Vitamin A initiatives. Some villagers could remember particular events, like a child receiving the distinctive red Vitamin A capsule, or a polio shot, but

not a single parent could accurately and completely recall the vaccination or vitamin history of any child, nor did they understand that national programs to vaccinate all Nepali children existed. This made an assessment of the efficacy of immunization and vitamin programs very difficult.

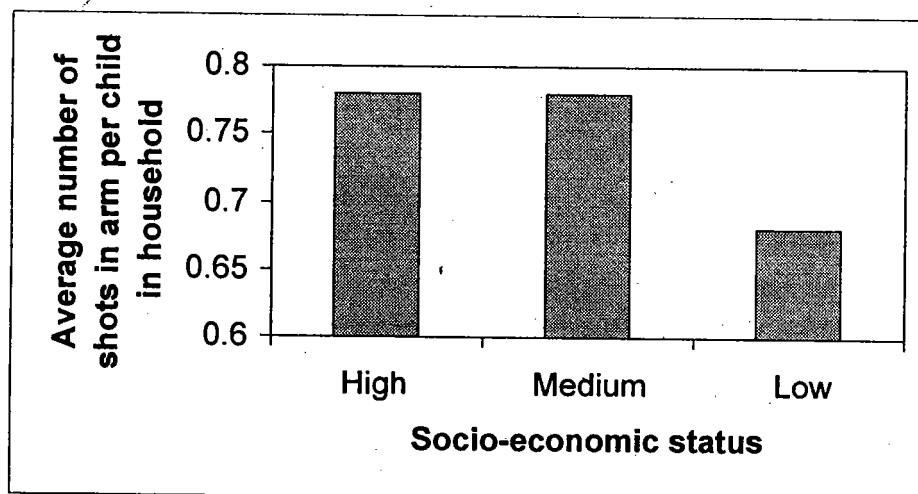
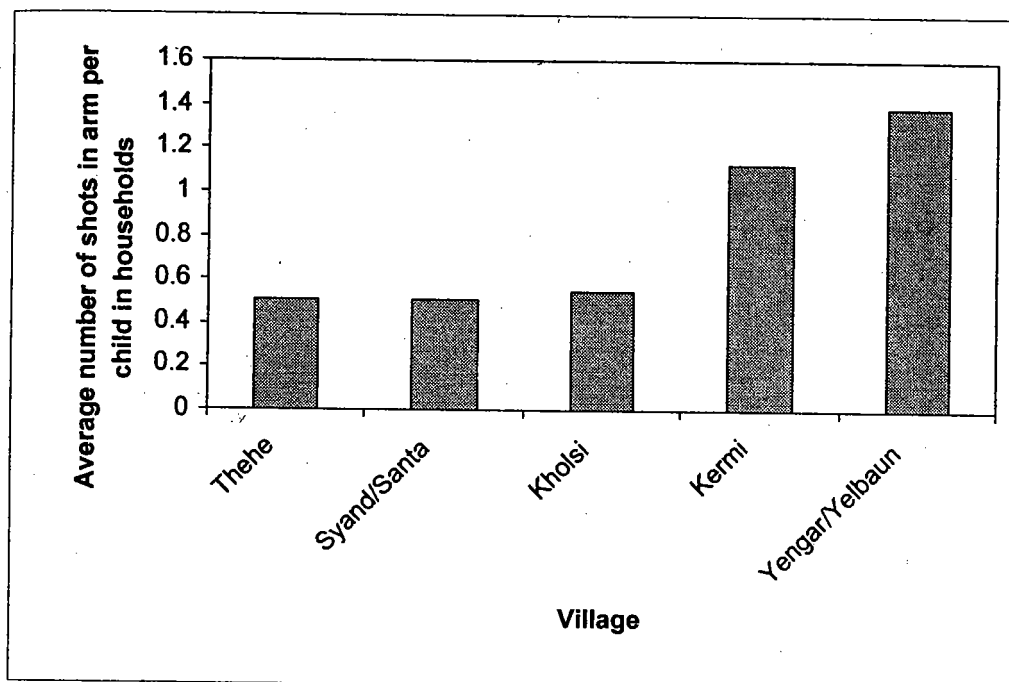
In the end, the research team simply counted the number of shots ever received in the arm and the number ever received in the buttocks, and average those among the children living in the household. Figures 2, 3, and 4 present the average number of shots in the arm per child in each household, categorized by ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and village. In this set of graphs, the first important health difference in the sample already emerges: Buddhists and villagers in the Buddhist villages received on average more shots in the arm than did Hindus. This is probably due to the effect that The Nepal Trust clinic in Yengar is having upon the villagers who visit it (who are almost all Buddhists from the nearby villages). No strong socio-economic differences emerged, although the pattern suggests that children in poorer households were less likely to receive shots in the arm. This pattern should however be viewed with caution, as it is not statistically significant. In fact there were no statistically significant differences among the wealth categories on any measure of health except for the survivability ratio.

Figure 2: Average number of shots in the arm per child in household by ethnicity



(Values: .52 shots per Hindu child, 1.25 per Buddhist child)

Figures 3 and 4: Average number of shots in the arm per child in household by village and by socio-economic status

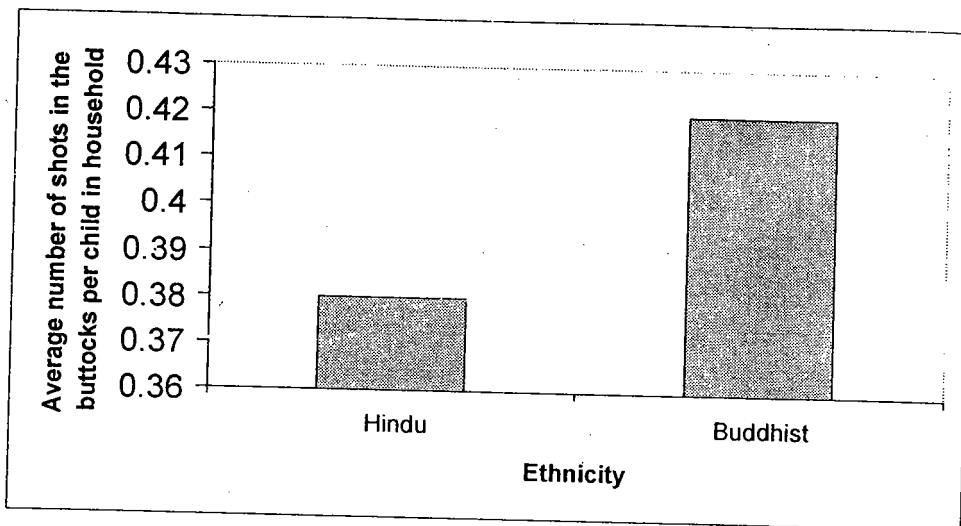


(Values: .50 shots per child in Thehe, .51 in Syada/Santa, .55 in Kholsi, 1.13 in Kermi, and 1.39 in Yengar/Yelbaun; .78 in high wealth households, .78 in medium wealth households, and .68 in poor households)

Figures 5, 6 and 7 present the average number of shots in the buttock per child in each household, categorized by ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and village. Very few children had received any shots in the buttocks, even in

villages close to private or government clinics, and no statistically significant differences emerged in any of the comparisons.

Figure 5: Average number of shots in the buttocks per child in household by ethnicity



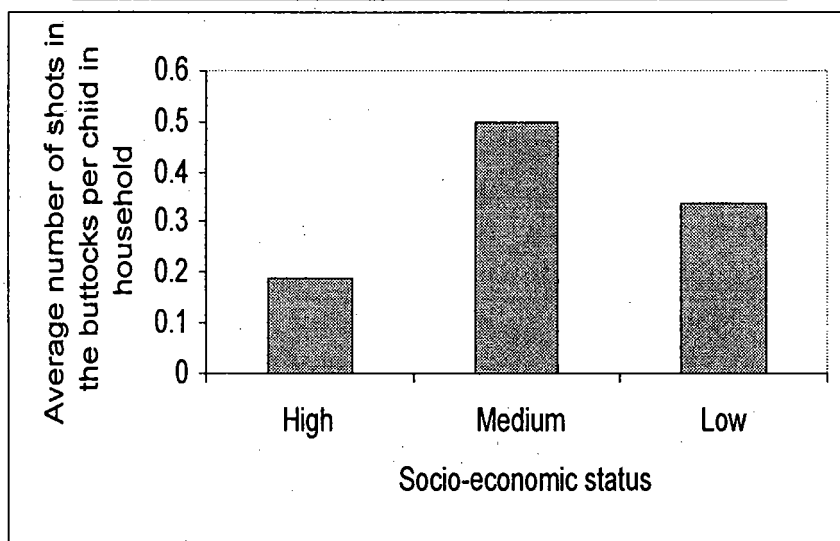
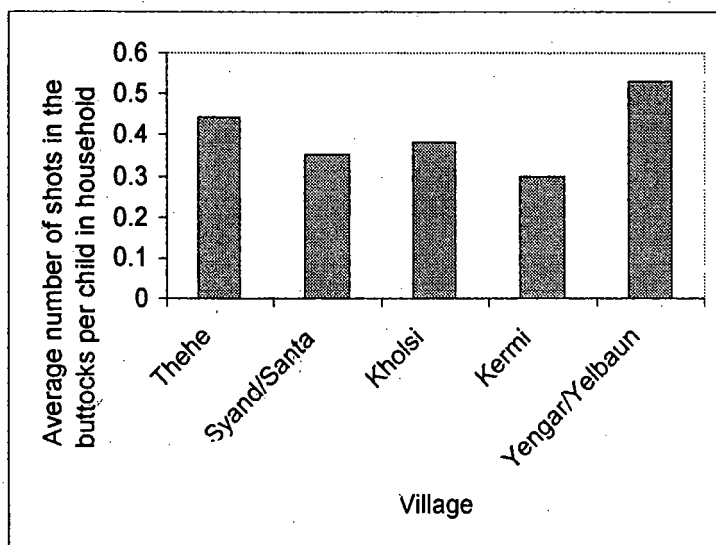
(Values: .38 shots per Hindu child, .42 per Buddhist child)

Although every parent was asked whether their child had received a vaccination for measles and whether each child had a BCG scar on his or her shoulder, not a single parent was able to answer these questions definitively. When the research team examined children, it was rarely clear if marks that looked like BCG scars were from the vaccination or some other source (e.g., measles or chicken pox).

The research team measured the number of polio vaccinations received per child in each household as well, not including the polio vaccinations that occurred during the study. These data are presented in Figures 8, 9, and 10.

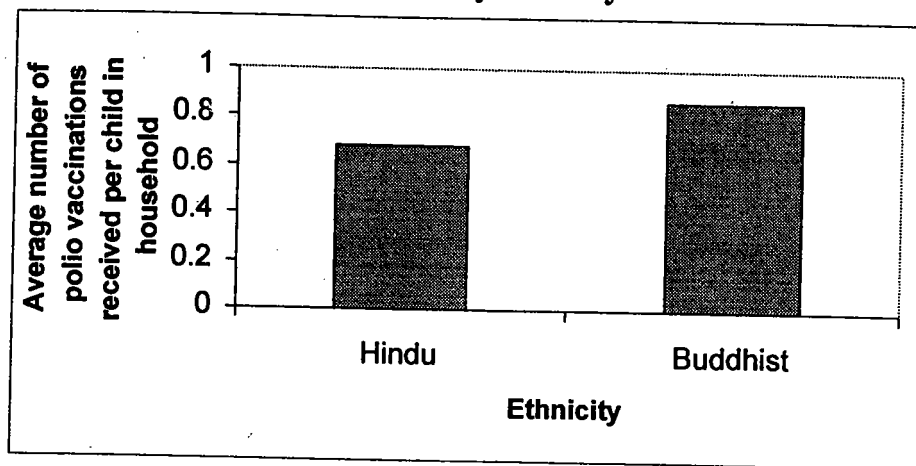
Again, Buddhists received more polio vaccinations than Hindus did, but none of the differences in ethnicity, socio-economic status, or village, were significant on polio. This is probably because we did not survey any of the very distant villages which are not contacted by the polio vaccinators, so most children had about the same access.

Figures 6 and 7: Average number of shots in the buttocks per child in household by village and by socio-economic status



(Values: .44 shots per child in Thehe, .35 in Syada/Santa, .38 in Kholsi, .30 in Kermi, and .53 in Yengar/Yelbaun; .19 in high wealth households, .50 in medium wealth households, and .34 in poor households)

Figure 8: Average number of polio vaccinations received per child in household by ethnicity



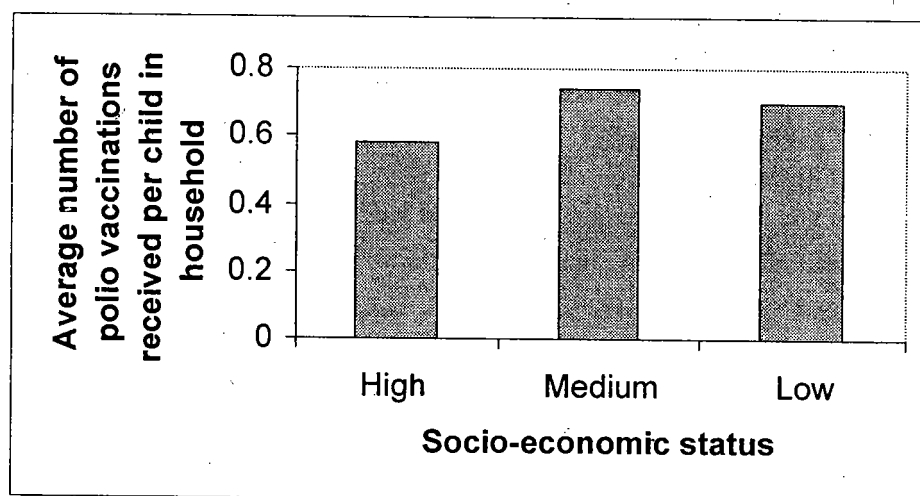
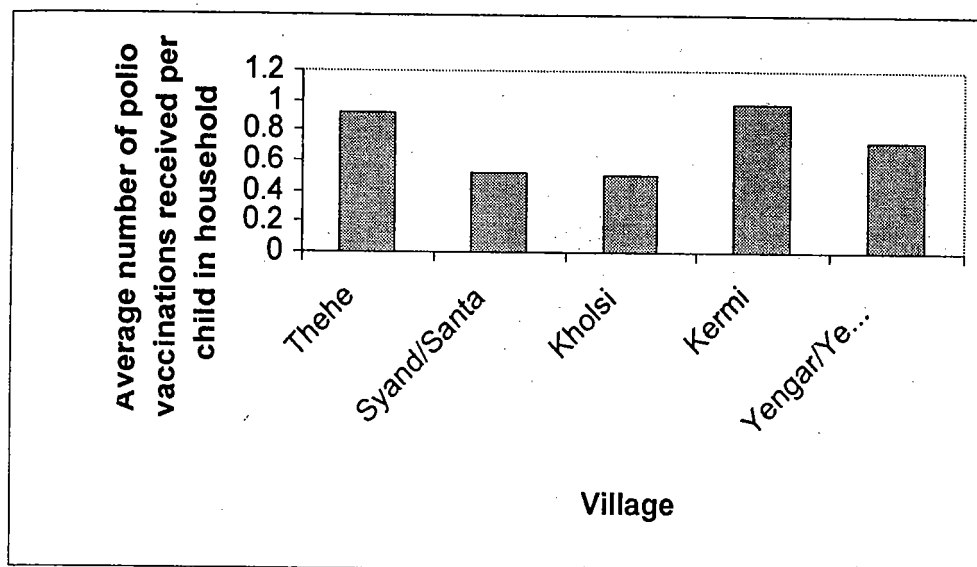
(Values: .63 vaccinations per Hindu child, .87 per Buddhist child)

Finally, the efficacy of the National Vitamin A program was examined, using the same methods. Figures 11, 12, and 13 present these data, and like the polio results show no significant variation among the comparisons.

While there were few statistically significant differences among the comparisons made here, some important patterns emerge. For instance, it emerges that Hindu villagers may receive slightly fewer shots in the arm than Buddhists. Due to the fact that we were unable to distinguish between the types of shots that parents recounted to us, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about vaccinations received from these results.

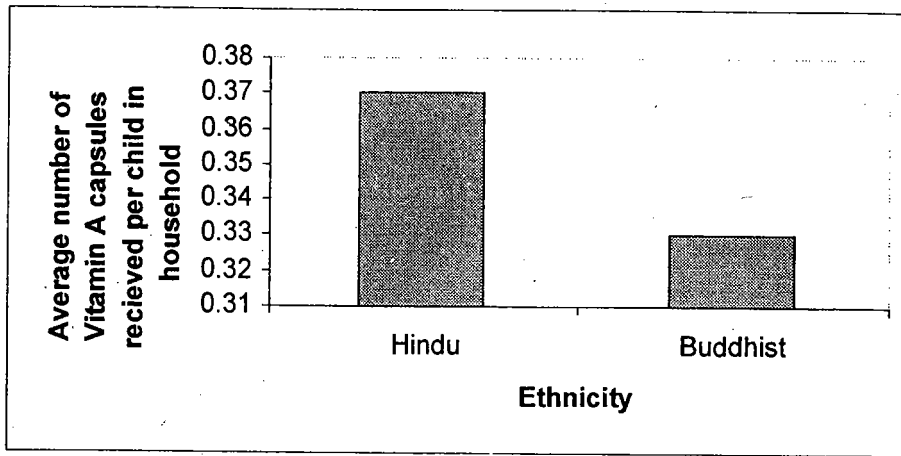
Of all the comparisons presented here, the only statistically significant differences are between Yengar/Yelbaun/Kermi and the rest of the villages (also captured in the Hindu-Buddhist comparison). This difference pertains solely to number of shots in the arm, and implies that The Nepal Trust clinic in Yengar may be having a positive effect on this aspect of health for the villagers in nearby villages.

Figures 9 and 10: Average number of polio vaccinations received per child in household by village and by socio-economic status



(Values: .91 vaccinations per child in Thehe, .52 in Syada/Santa, .50 in Kholsi, .97 in Kermi, and .74 in Yengar/Yelbaun; .58 in high wealth households, .74 in medium wealth households, and .70 in poor households)

Figure 11: Average number of Vitamin A capsules received per child in household by ethnicity

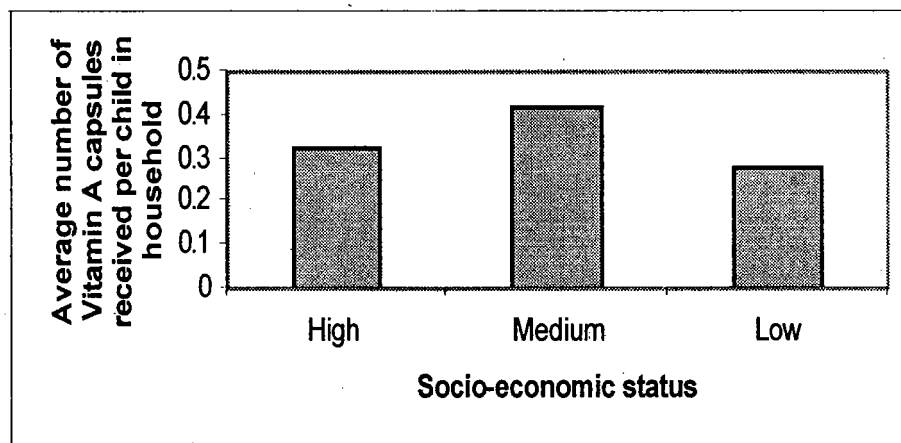
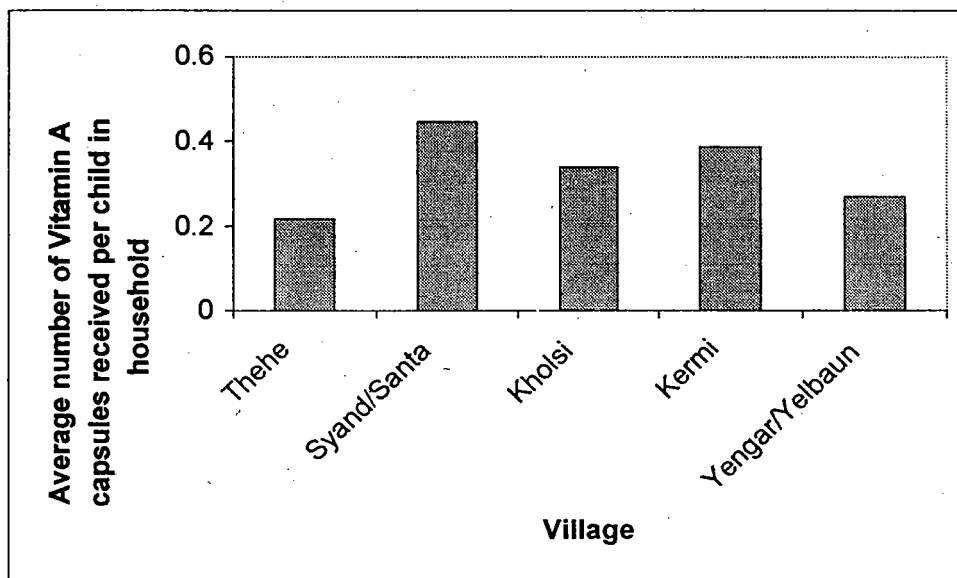


(Values: .37 capsules per Hindu child, .33 per Buddhist child)

However, it is important to look beyond these comparisons and see the big picture, which is this: with the exception of shots in the arm received by Buddhist children, not a single one of the means presented in this section is over 1.0. This means that on average, in every village, Hindu or Buddhist, poor or not, children receive less than one shot in the arm, less than one shot in the buttocks, less than one oral polio vaccination, and less than one Vitamin A capsule. Bearing in mind that the DPT series alone includes 3 separate shots; this record is very poor.

Disease Prevalence: In this section, findings are presented in two formats. First, Table 1 presents the data collected in the group interviews, on the incidence of recognizable conditions by village. The research team was not able to collect these data for Thehe. Second, Figures 14-25 present the incidence of diarrhea and cough among children and adults by household, stratified as above (by ethnicity, village, and socio-economic status).

Figures 12 and 13: Average number of Vitamin A capsules received per child in household by village and by socio-economic status



(Values: .22 capsules per child in Thehe, .45 in Syada/Santa, .34 in Kholi, .39 in Kermi, and .27 in Yengar/Yelbaun; .32 in high wealth households, .42 in medium wealth households, and .28 in poor households)

Table 1: Incidence of disease by village, as reported by VDC and Ward Chairmen

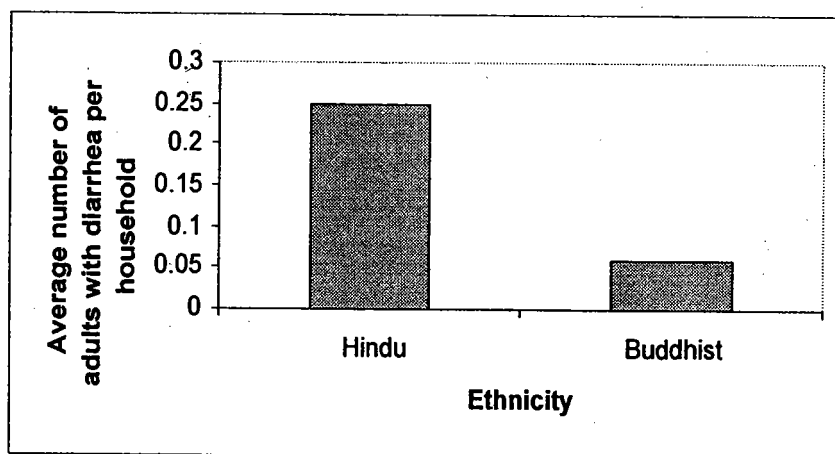
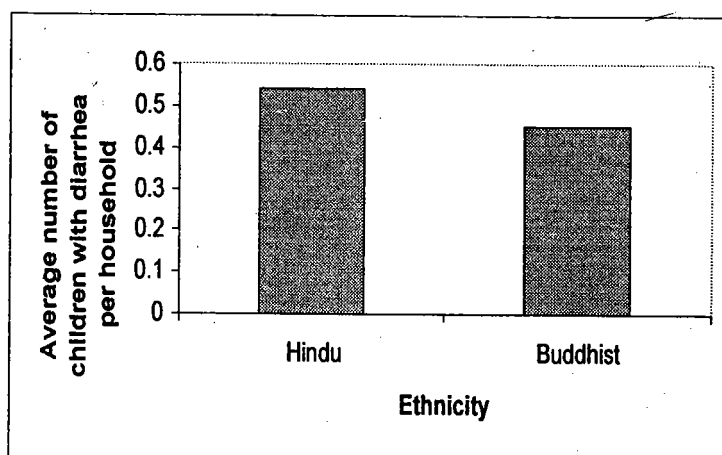
Condition	Syada/Santa	Kholisi	Kermi	Yelbaun	Yengar
Polio-like symptoms	10	5	1	0	1
TB-like symptoms	40	12	0	1	5
Goiter	Many (20+)	Many (20+)	5	NA	6
Lameness (from accident)	5	25	0	2	2
Deaf ¹	28	45	10	1	1
Partial deafness ²	65	30	Many	3	8
Blind	25	5	3	1	1
Night blind	115	10	4	NA	NA
Infertile (female only)	NA	NA	3	1	1

Note: these categories of illness were derived by villagers' identification of local health problems

- 1 Most completely deaf people were born deaf, though in Kermi only 4 of 10 were born deaf
- 2 Most partially-deaf people developed this condition after a short illness

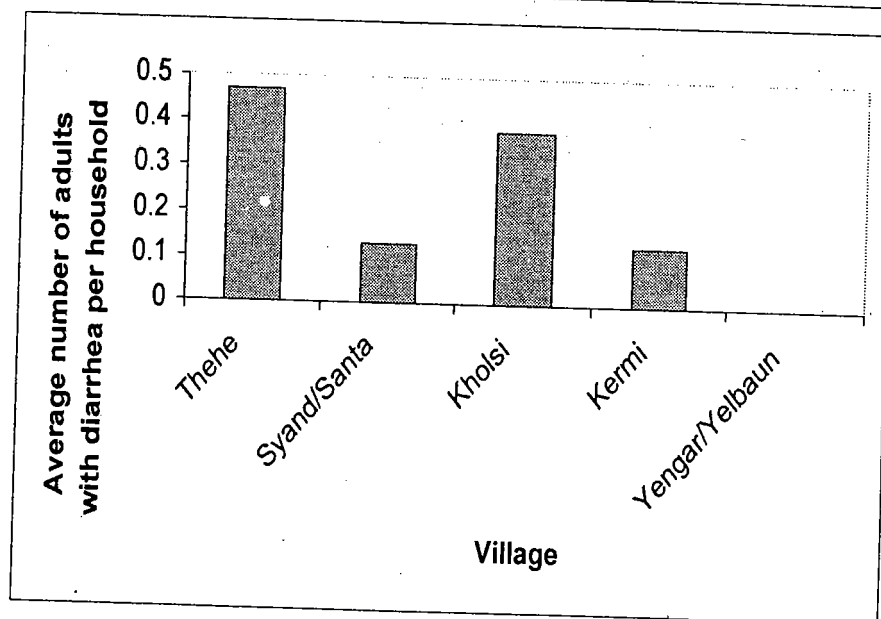
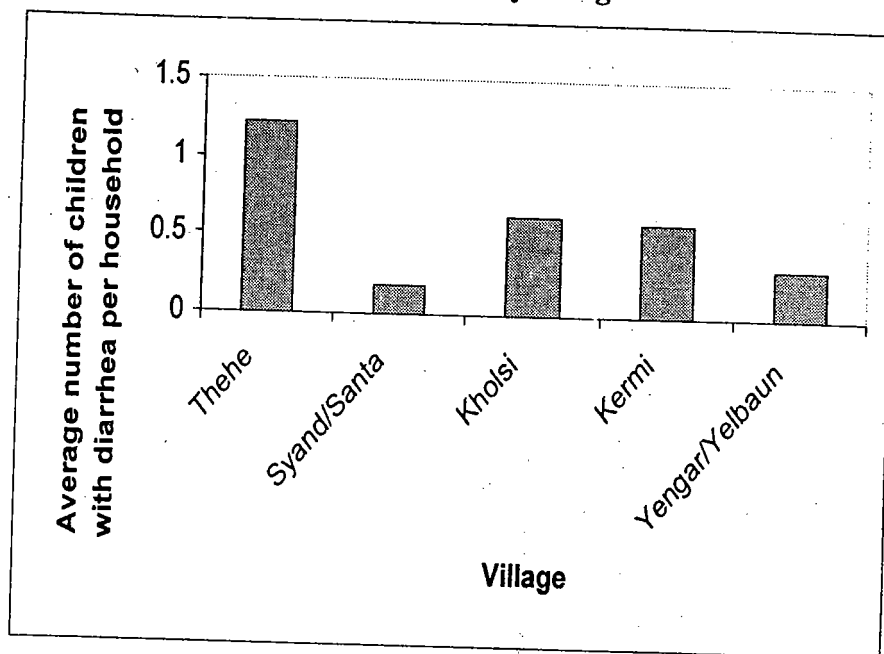
Results from questions about the number of children and adults per household reporting that they are suffering from diarrhea are presented in Figures 14-19. Every person with whom the research team discussed the incidence of diarrhea was careful to point out that diarrhea was not a problem during the dry season (the time of the study), but that it was a severe problem during the wet season.

Figures 14 and 15: Average number of children and adults with diarrhea per household by ethnicity



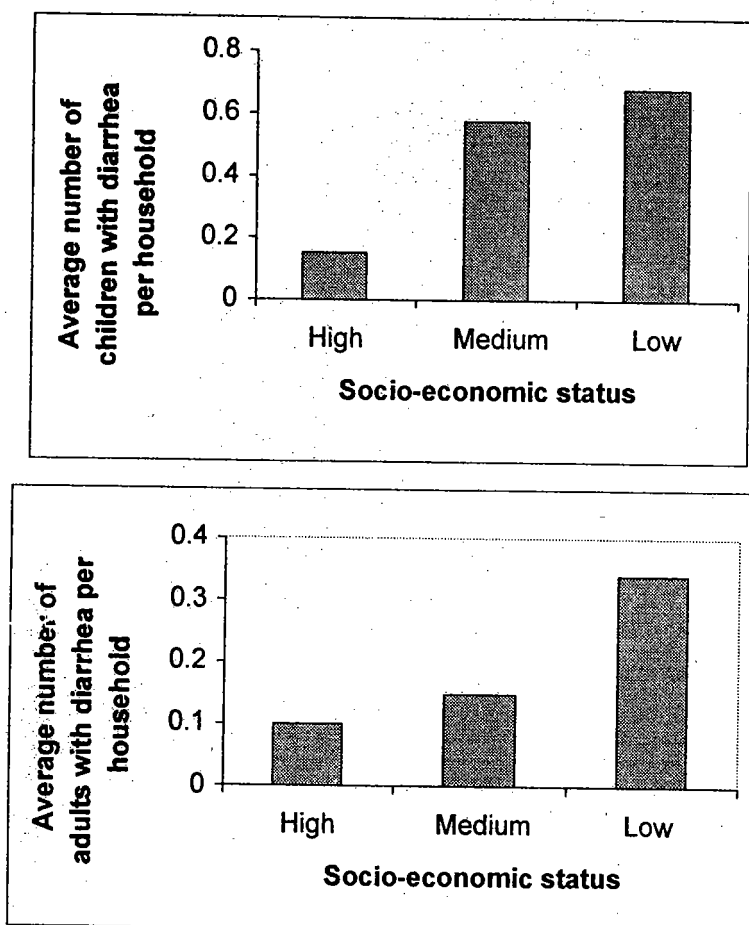
(Values for children: .54 in Hindu households, .45 in Buddhist households;
Values for adults: .25 in Hindu households, .06 in Buddhist households)

Figures 16 and 17: Average number of children and adults with diarrhea per household by village



(Values for children: 1.21 in Thehe, .18 in Syada/Santa, .64 in Kholi, .60 in Kermi, .31 in Yengar/Yelbaun; Values for adults: .47 in Thehe, .13 in Syada/Santa, .38 in Kholi, .13 in Kermi, 0.0 in Yengar/Yelbaun)

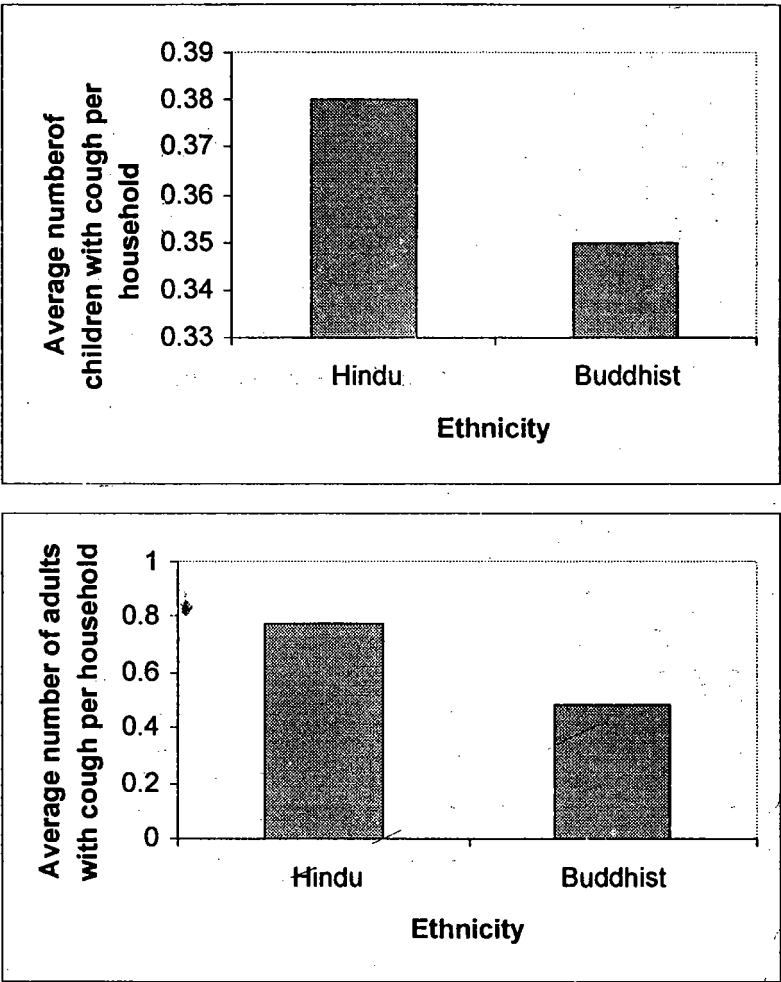
Figures 18 and 19: Average number of children and adults with diarrhea per household by socio-economic status



(Values for children: .15 in high wealth households, .58 in medium wealth households, .68 in poor households; Values for adults: .10 in high wealth households, .15 in medium wealth households, .34 in poor households)

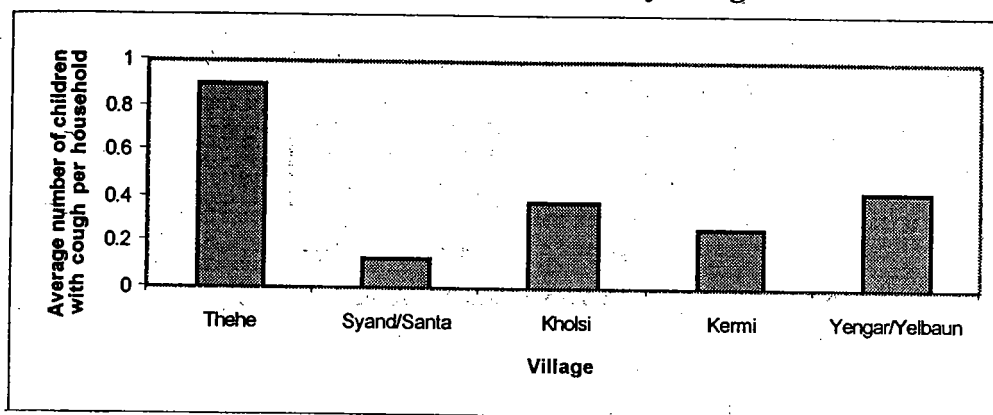
The diarrhea data presented in the figures above show that Buddhist children and adults report less diarrhea in the dry season than Hindus do (this difference is statistically significant for Hindu vs. Buddhist adults). No socio-economic differences emerge, but the pattern in the village data shows that Thehe children and adults reported much more diarrhea than in any other village, and Syada/Santa and Yengar the least.

Figures 20 and 21: Average number of children and adults with cough per household by ethnicity



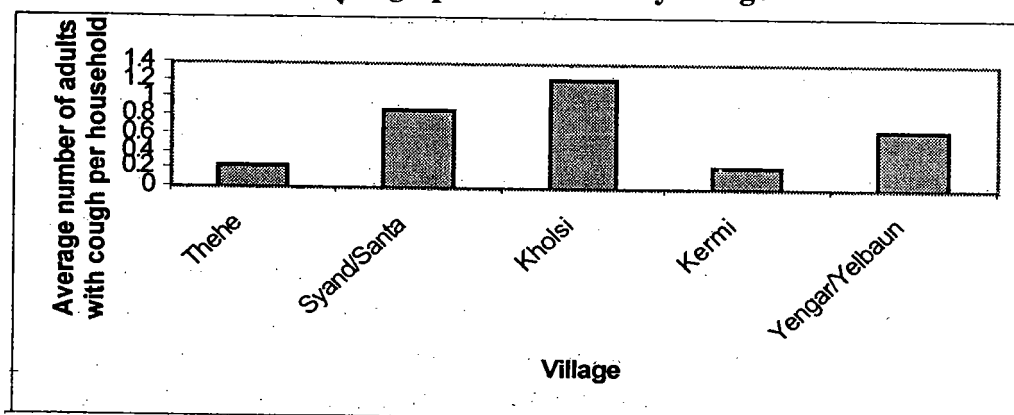
*(Values for children: .38 in Hindu households, .35 in Buddhist households;
Values for adults: .78 in Hindu households, .48 in Buddhist households)*

Figure 22: Average number of children with cough per household by village



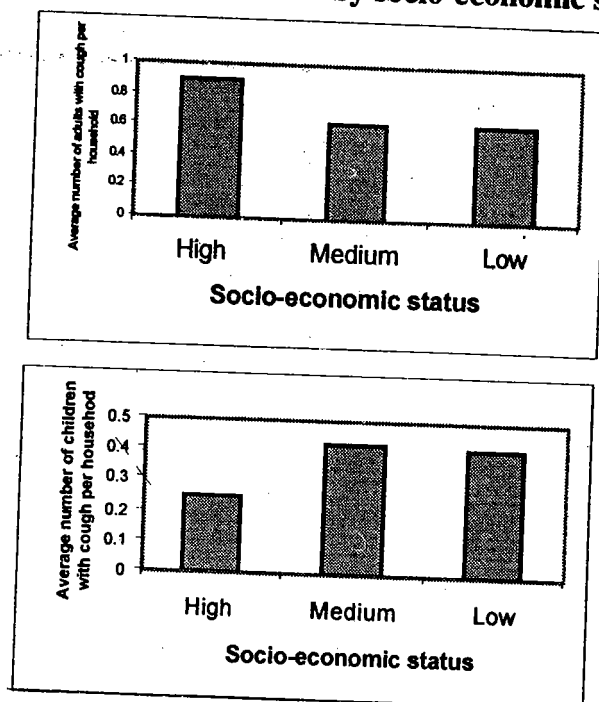
(Values for children: .89 in Thehe, .13 in Syada/Santa, .38 in Kholsi, .26 in Kermi, .43 in Yengar/Yelbaun)

Figure 23: Average number of adults with cough per household by village



(Values for adults: .26 in Thehe, .89 in Syada/Santa, 1.21 in Kholsi, .26 in Kermi, .68 in Yengar/Yelbaun)

Figures 24 and 25: Average number of children and adults with cough per household by socio-economic status



(Values for children: .25 in high wealth households, .42 in medium wealth households, .41 in poor households; Values for adults: .90 in high wealth households, .63 in medium wealth households, .62 in poor households)

The cough data presented in Figures 19-25 show patterns that are similar to the ones that emerge in the diarrhea data. Buddhists report less cough than Hindus do, and interestingly, socio-economic status and cough are clearly correlated (the correlation is statistically significant for adults). This may be due to the fact that though smoky, Lama houses may be slightly better ventilated than Hindu ones. By the same token, houses belonging to wealthier people tend to be larger than those belonging to poor people, and this may account for the difference seen across socio-economic status (though this pattern is not statistically significant, it is strong). No patterns emerge in the village level data; aside from the one already captured in the ethnicity data (less cough is reported by both children and adults in Kermi and Yengar/Yelbaun than in other villages).

In discussions with villagers, people reported that though diarrhea was not a problem during the season when this study was conducted, it is a major cause of death among infants and is a serious problem for people of all ages

during the rainy season. People were less concerned about their coughs and were not well informed about tuberculosis, but many people reported that they did seek treatment for their coughs from clinics, or treated themselves with herbs when they got especially bad. Though relatively few people reported diarrhea or treatment for diarrhea during our survey, the excrement on the trails around all of the villages clearly showed us that diarrhea was in fact currently a problem.

Additionally, though relatively few people reported cough or treatment for cough during our study, in fact one awakes every morning to the sounds of terrible coughing fits by adults, and many of the children with whom the research team interacted exhibited deep, phlegmy coughs.

In general, people think of themselves as being quite sick, and almost completely powerless to improve their health status. They complained vociferously about the lack of medical treatment available to them and the effect of this lack upon the quality of their lives and the chances of survival for their children. People reported that every family had serious sickness, and that health posts were too far away and too expensive for almost anyone to afford. One man in Kermi explained that traveling to clinics was so difficult that simple, minor problems often progressed unnecessarily to serious, life-threatening conditions because people simply could not get any treatment locally and were unwilling until absolutely desperate to walk for almost a day to get treatment. This left villagers in a bind, he explained, because by the time they are desperate, they are usually too ill to even travel the distance required to find a doctor.

Other than lack of access to medical care, the main problems that people complained of were diarrhea, cough, fever, headaches, dental and eye problems, deafness, rheumatism, goiter, generalized edema, worms, complications of childbirth, contraceptives that leave them feeling weak, stomach pain, acid reflux, and malnutrition (malnutrition was a complaint more often heard in Hindu villages, especially in Thehe).

Attitudes about Disease Treatment

The research team discussed disease treatment at some length in group interviews and in the one-on-one interviews, to get an accurate understanding of the perceptions of local people of the pros and cons of different kinds of treatment. Three options are open to villagers. One is western medicine, which can be obtained at private or government health posts or sub health

posts. Another is to seek care from traditional healers or religious figures (*dhamis* in the Hindu communities or *amchis* in Buddhist communities). The third is self-care using one of the local home-remedies, usually herbs gathered from the fields and forests around the villages. There are no *amchis* in the Buddhist communities surveyed in this study, though there is an *amchi* just north of Limi, over the Tibetan border. One 62 year old man from Kermi traveled three days over two 17,000+ foot passes in order to trade some wool and visit the *amchi* in that community for medicine for his wife, who was suffering from a cough and fever (he said the medicine helped). People in the Buddhist communities also occasionally ask the lamas to perform healing prayer-ceremonies. The frequency with which people reported using these forms of treatment to treat the diarrhea and cough documented in the previous section is reported in Table 2.

Hindu villagers reported that certain types of illness are more suited to treatment by a *dhami* than by a Western doctor. In particular, illnesses without physically manifested symptoms (stomach pain, rashes, cough, discharge), which instead have "invisible" symptoms (headaches, fainting, dizziness, seizures) are to be treated by a *dhami* or a lama from the monastery. This is mainly because such illnesses are thought to be caused by evil spirits, and can be treated only by a spirit healer. One man in Kermi said that he thought that his wife's fainting spells, profound headache, and general weakness were likely to be best treated by prayer and rituals performed by the lamas from the monastery. However, he also said that he planned to take her to Kathmandu on his winter trip there, in order for her to receive treatment at the hospital.

**Table 2: Use of different types of healing methods
by Hindus and Buddhists**

Treatment	Condition	Hindus (n=74)	Buddhists (n=31)
Tibetan Medicines:			
	Diarrhea (child)	0	0
	Diarrhea (adult)	0	0
	Cough (child)	0	1
	Cough (adult)	0	1
Western Medicines:			
	Diarrhea (child)	11	3
	Diarrhea (adult)	11	2
	Cough (child)	3	2
	Cough (adult)	10	4
Herbs/Home remedies:			
	Diarrhea (child)	4	6
	Diarrhea (adult)	1	2
	Cough (child)	1	0
	Cough (adult)	0	0
Dhami or Lama:			
	Diarrhea (child)	1	0
	Diarrhea (adult)	0	1
	Cough (child)	0	0
	Cough (adult)	3	0

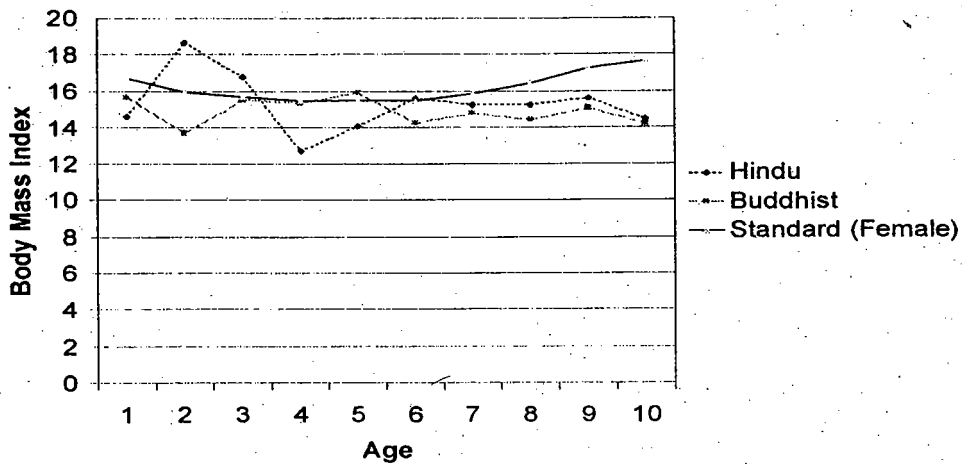
This man's attitude is in fact very similar to most people's attitudes about health-seeking behavior. Though some illnesses are reputed to be more treatable using traditional methods, people also told us that they would actually use any method or any combination of methods that they had access to and could afford. Most people used a combination of treatment methods to treat the conditions described to us. These included herbs or spiced hot water, prayer or ritual, western medicine if available, and burning treatments. Burning treatments are commonly prescribed to treat internal pain, and the belief is that a burning hot coal should be placed on the skin directly over the painful spot. Many of the adults whose chests we saw were covered with burn marks from this treatment, in both Hindu and Buddhist communities.

People are often unwilling to travel to nearby villages for health care, even to villages within 5 hours walk. This is because they cannot predict whether the clinic or post will be open when they arrive, and most people simply cannot afford a whole day away from their fields, especially with the risk that they may not even be able to see a doctor, nurse, or other health worker. Additionally, there is a lot of mistrust in both Hindu and Buddhist communities about the Western medicines available at the local clinics and health posts. People complained that most medicines they received seem to have expired or lost their power. They also feel that they rarely receive the medicines that they actually need, especially since medicines are sometimes dispensed by the peon. Even when they receive medicines from trained health workers, they do not trust that they receive the proper ones. They blame the pharmacists in Simikot explicitly, for being driven more by greed than by the desire to dispense the proper medicines. In one village, in fact, the villagers hold improperly prescribed medicines to blame for the deaths of two important adult community members.

Anthropometry

The research team took key anthropometric measurements (See Module 8 from the Survey in Appendix 1) from 116 children (< 10 year of age) in order to get a picture of their nutritional status. I have lumped these data in one group rather than separate them by sex in order to maximize the sample size. Figure 26 compares Hindu and Buddhist children separately with the standard for female body mass indices⁵ across the same age groups (body mass index standard female measurements taken from Frisancho 1993:43; body mass index = weight (kg)/ height (m)²). The standard female measurement is used here despite the fact that most of the children that we measured were boys. This means that the difference between the standard and the Hindu and Buddhist lines in the figure below is quite conservative (since boys have higher body mass indices than girls do).

Figure 26: Body Mass Index for ages 1-10, Hindu, Buddhist, and Standard (Female)



The figure shows that with the exception of ages 2 and 3 among Hindus (possibly a sampling bias, given the small size of the sample), the mean body mass index for both Hindu and Buddhist children in this sample is consistently lower (sometimes dramatically so) than the standard female measure, and by age 6 for Buddhists and 8 for Hindus drops consistently and increasingly below the standard.

Using the Medical College of Wisconsin's body mass index calculation program on the web (<http://healthlink.mcw.edu>), the body mass index and ideal body weight was also calculated using the mean values from the Hindu and Buddhist data. The mean values for every age group tested were rated by this program as "underweight". Though more complete analyses of diet and more precise anthropometric measurements should be taken to assess wasting, stunting and malnutrition in this population, the data presented here show that on average the children in this sample (regardless of ethnicity) are consistently underweight for their heights.

Conclusions

Health care in Humla is severely lacking, and presents a very serious problem for local people. In recent years, Humla has obtained the reputation in Nepal of being a 'darling of development'. In fact, very little has changed in terms of health care in Humla since this study was conducted. The private clinics opened by The Nepal Trust in a handful of villages provide very good services, but only at the primary health care level, and not to the entire

population. Though Humla is remote and government services of any kind are difficult to deliver, Humlis need to have access to better, more consistent medical care. In particular, due to the expense of leaving the district in times of sickness (this requires an expensive flight on an unreliable airline service), Humlis need to have a strong referral system to a local health center where serious complications can be addressed. The District health post in Simikot should be the focus of this attention, and needs to receive more careful attention and the allocation of more resources from the Ministry of Health. Additionally, staff at sub-healthposts need to be upskilled to a level that allows them to recognize when a referral to the health post is required. Until this occurs, Humlis will continue to experience the many serious--though treatable--illnesses that they presently, and unnecessarily, suffer.

Acknowledgements

This study was funded by *The ISIS Foundation*. Additional logistical support was provided by the staff of the USCC offices in Kathmandu and in Bargaun, Humla. Special thanks are owed to Mr. Shree Ram Shrestha, of the USCC office in Kathmandu, and to Mr. Yagya Prasad Panday and Ms. Tara Tuladhar, of the USCC office in Bargaun, for their patient help and generous hospitality. Mr. Angjuk Lama, of Humla, worked in tandem with Dr. Haddix McKay and provided invaluable research assistance throughout the data-collection period.

Notes

1. In 1998 the ISIS Foundation, in collaboration with Unitarian Services Committee, Canada (USCC), began to lay the groundwork for primary health care development projects in several Village Development Committee areas of Humla District.
2. Nepal is divided from north to south into five regions: the High Himalaya, the High Mountain, the Middle Mountain, the Siwalik and in the furthest southern areas, the Tarai (Topographic Survey Branch, Survey Department, HMG Nepal 1987). Glaciers cover parts of the High Himalaya.
3. This system has been gravely disrupted by the Maoist agitation, especially in 2001-2002, and may ultimately evolve into another form of local governance, but at the time of this study, the VDC system was in place and functioning.

4. Compared with Hindus, Buddhist villagers tend on average to be slightly wealthier, to eat more whole grains and less rice, to be higher in elevation, for girls to marry later, for women to start reproducing later, and to be less superstitious about disease causation (perhaps because of the long tradition of Tibetan medicine, which is similar in many ways to traditional Chinese medicine).
5. Standards are taken from children in well-fed populations, see Frisancho (1993) for details.

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HIV/AIDS IN NEPAL: THE MAKING OF A CULTURAL MODEL

Dave Beine

Introduction

HIV/AIDS has become a prominent problem in the tiny South Asian-country of Nepal. Experts have stated that the number of AIDS cases has increased fifteen-fold over a three-year period (1990-93) and the numbers were expected to reach 100,000 cases by the year 2000 (Suvedi, Baker and Thapa 1994). Although the numeric impact of HIV/AIDS has not been as dramatic as anticipated,¹ it is expected that AIDS will grow at an alarming rate over the next few years. One author proclaims AIDS as a "coming crisis" for Nepal (Seddon 1995).

The way people make sense of illness is, in part, culturally determined. Existing beliefs and presuppositions shared by a community (cultural knowledge) regarding illness plays a significant role in shaping an understanding of newly emerging illnesses in any given culture. This cultural knowledge is organized as cultural models, which are utilized to "make meaning" of new situations such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. These cultural constructions (cultural models) of illness can also contribute to the spread of the epidemic.

In this paper I examine the various factors involved in the creation and spread of a dominant cultural model of HIV/AIDS in Nepal. This process seems to be the result of a complex combination of factors, both cultural and biological. I will introduce the dominant cultural model of HIV/AIDS and examine the role that NGOs, doctors and policy makers, the media, and underlying biologically based schemata have all played in the making of a dominant cognitive model of HIV/AIDS in Nepal. The resultant model is a type of hybrid model based on the application of traditional ideas (underlying culturally-based illness schemata), the strong influence of an imported

Western model of HIV/AIDS (especially the aspects of this model that are reinforced by pre-existing cultural schemata), and universal biology.

The findings of this paper are based on a larger study of HIV/AIDS in Nepal, which included 1) an ethnomedical study (cognitive anthropology) that examined cultural models of illness and the schema which underlie these cultural models, explicitly focusing on villagers perceptions of the newly emerging phenomena of HIV/AIDS, 2) a discourse analysis (linguistic anthropology) study of 30 narratives of persons living with AIDS (PWAs), in-depth interviews with multiple HIV/AIDS NGO staff, a knowledge, attitudes, practices (KAP) study conducted among Nepali doctors and a six month study of the Nepali media's presentation of HIV/AIDS. The data collected was presented as a doctoral dissertation for the department of anthropology at Washington State University (Beine 2000b).

Cultural models of HIV/AIDS in Nepal

In my doctoral dissertation I explored various cultural models of HIV/AIDS that exist among different sub-groups in Nepal and examined the various schemata that inform these models. Based on the findings of my research I also proposed a dominant cultural model of HIV/AIDS that influences these various sub-group models. The three major components of this dominant model are fear, hate and blame. The research also demonstrated widely shared understandings of HIV/AIDS as a fatal, infectious, and sexually transmitted disease. The research also illuminated common themes regarding AIDS as a "bad person's" disease, AIDS as the result of bad *karma*, and the belief in a strong connection between worry and disease. Based on the data, I have proposed a dominant cultural model of AIDS in Nepal that encompasses these features as major elements (Figure 1). As can be seen in Figure 1, however, there are also slightly modified cognitive models held by different sub-groups (e.g. rural versus city PWAs, and urban female PWAs versus urban male PWAs). These sub-group models still encompass the major features of the wider model, but differ from one another in significant ways as well. Although these differences are of interest, I will focus here mainly on the creation of the dominant model. It is this model that is being disseminated widely and is having the greatest impact in shaping people's understandings of HIV/AIDS. It is, therefore, this model that I expect to have the most impact in the coming years. For a more complete explanation of the dominant cultural model, the various sub-group models and the various

Fear, Hate and Blame

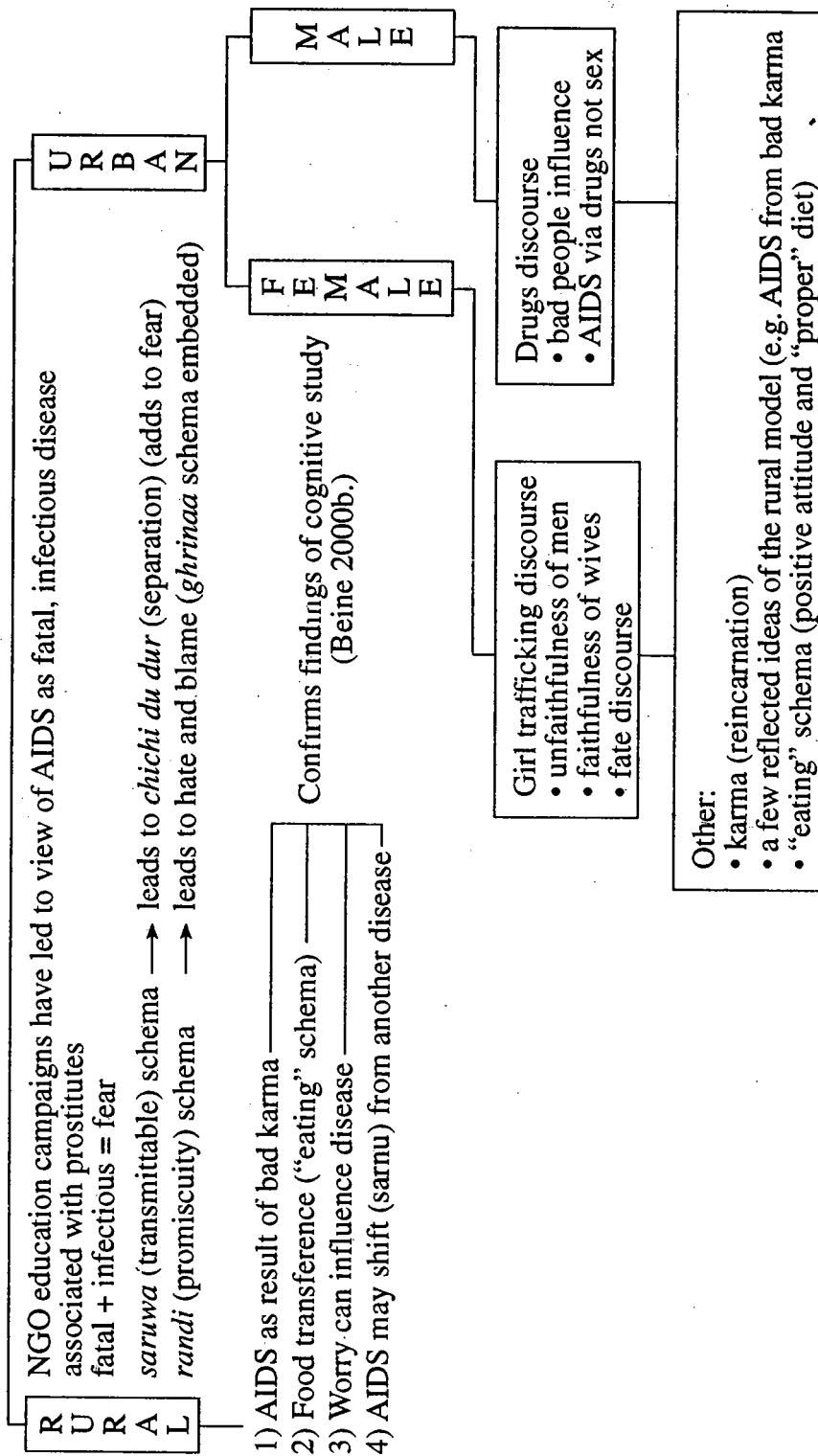


Figure 1 Cultural Model of HIV/AIDS in Nepal (including embedded schemata)

embedded cognitive schemata, the reader is encouraged to consult Beine (2000b).

The role of NGOs

Western NGOs (non-governmental organizations) have contributed greatly to the dominant cultural model of HIV/AIDS in Nepal. There are currently nearly 100 NGOs working in the area of AIDS education and prevention in Nepal.² The education and prevention models employed by these organizations are drawn from the National Center for AIDS and STD Control (National Center), an organization charged with coordinating all AIDS education and prevention throughout the country. And the education and prevention models promoted by the National Center are mainly borrowed from the West (Beine 2000b). Therefore, the strategies employed and materials distributed focus primarily on the issues these Western organizations (based on the findings of Western KAP/KAB studies) have recommended. Western models dominate the AIDS discourse in Nepal. The result is an emphasis on awareness building that portrays AIDS (even using Western illness schemata³) as a highly communicable and fatal disease associated most directly with prostitution and drug use. The findings of my research studies (Beine 2000b) would suggest that the awareness building campaign, led by the various NGOs, has been fairly successful at promoting these associations with AIDS across the country. The concepts of AIDS as fatal, infectious and sexually transmitted are, therefore, a direct result of the Western-style awareness building campaign.

The influence of *bikas*

In Nepal deference is often shown toward anything considered *bikasi* (developed). Implied in this is the assumption that traditional is bad (usually referred to as "backwardness") and *bikas* (development) is good, as demonstrated by Pigg (1996). Given this deference to Western development, it is no surprise that deference has also been displayed toward the ideas of Western experts in the domain of HIV/AIDS education and prevention. Deference toward Western models (even when their impact is questionable) is quite obvious. The Nepali director of the National Center recently displayed deference toward the continuation of current Western approaches despite evidence that they may not be very effective. Karki (1998) displayed an understanding of the "KAP gap" problem when he acknowledged that

"although awareness of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and HIV among commercial sex workers (CSWs) is generally high...there is a wide gap between knowledge and practice" and that "regardless of how much one knows, it is often not translated into action." Yet, "awareness building," the recommended strategy of the various NGOs involved, remains the major thrust of the prevention campaign. Although condoms are made available free to the population by the Nepali government, not many people use them. Karki (1998) freely admits, "It is irony that in spite of much effort to make condoms available to all sex workers and their clients, it is estimated that less than 50% of sex workers or clients use condoms." Even so, Karki (1998) concludes that, "Condom promotion and its use by a large number of clients should be the target for the future." Awareness building (stressing the fatal, infectious and sexually transmitted nature of AIDS) and condom promotion have been strongly promoted by Western organizations consulted by Nepali AIDS prevention planners. And despite an apparent understanding of the limitations of an emphasis on awareness building and condom distribution, deference has been displayed toward this Western (developed) approach.

Given the sexually conservative nature of Nepalese public life, I have been very surprised at the small amount of controversy that the emphasis on condoms in the public sphere has created. Although I have heard some criticism, there has generally been a wide acceptance of the saturation of the country with condom billboards. Again, this would seem to suggest that AIDS is understood as a Western disease, and the approaches to combat it (e.g. the media condom campaign) have been suggested by the West, therefore deference is displayed toward the public display of sexuality, even when it violates cultural norms. Given the history of development in Nepal it is not a surprise that the evolving AIDS prevention campaign would be a product of Western development paradigms.

The Development Industry of AIDS in Nepal

Closely related to the idea of *bikas* is the fact that Nepal, being a poorer country, has created a development industry. AIDS is no exception. Back in 1995 David Seddon expressed concern that,

There is a real danger that the prospect of an epidemic will attract organizations and individuals whose interest lie more in the resources that are now being made increasingly available to NGOs for work on HIV-AIDS related issues and will not serve

the interests of those directly and indirectly threatened by the disease. Already it seems that everyone in Kathmandu seems involved, everyone after money, that is (according to one expatriate commentator). (1995:9)

Likewise, a Nepali policy maker commenting on this trend said,

Unfortunately, the disproportionate amount of money that has gone into HIV/AIDS prevention in Nepal compared to other less glamorous diseases like TB and malaria have spread the perception that AIDS is a donor-driven agenda in Nepal and that bigger killers do not get the same attention. This is to a certain extent true, and informal polls of journalists in Nepal show that most reporters and editors believe that AIDS is getting undue attention. Whatever the truth, AIDS organizations are also perceived by some journalists as 'dollar harvesters.' This has created some problems for organizations dealing with media sensitization, because some reporters seem to think that they are being "used." AIDS organizations and their media advisors need to look at this problem seriously and not underestimate their potential to damage their work. (Dixit 1998)

It seems that Seddon's predictions may have come true. Although the prevalence rate country-wide is less than 1% and various other diseases actually kill many times more people in Nepal than does AIDS, there are currently more NGOs working in the area of HIV/AIDS in Nepal than in these other areas, such as TB and malaria control. The fact is that development in Nepal, including health development, follows a donor driven agenda, and AIDS is currently a hot topic internationally.

The Impact of Traditional Schemata

Traditional ideas also are being reinforced by the NGOs working with HIV/AIDS. Unfortunately, many of these practices are further reinforcing the stigma associated with AIDS. For instance, a worker at one NGO that repatriates CSWs and works to give women other economic options, told me that this NGO was building a special home for the girls that tested HIV positive and for the girls with "other diseases." When I asked about who else,

besides the HIV positive girls, would be kept at the new home, I was told "those with tuberculosis and hepatitis B." I was told that since these diseases are "contagious" they want to keep those infected away from the other girls. The NGO director said "we don't want the other girls to be victimized." What is most unfortunate is that the HIV positive girls (not a risk to other girls unless sexually active with them) are very susceptible to other infections such as TB. Putting these girls together with TB carriers is like a death sentence for the persons with AIDS (PWAs).

Ideas about the possibility of non-sexual transference of the disease are also being applied to AIDS intervention work. One NGO director contended that even though there are many organizations working with HIV/AIDS in Nepal, their staff "won't live in the same houses, use the same kitchen or eat off the same plates" as the PWAs. She also gave an example of an international conference she attended in which she was the only female NGO director who was willing to share a room with female PWAs. The traditional illness schemata of *sarawa* (transmittable) and *chichi durdur* (separation) although not mentioned by name, are clearly evident in these examples. Again, although various NGOs are working hard to bring HIV/AIDS to the forefront in Nepal, many are participating in practices that are unnecessarily perpetuating stigma and even hastening death.

I found that many of the wider illness schemata identified in my earlier studies⁴ were also being applied by many of the NGO staff working with PWAs. For instance, in regards to treatments for AIDS, love, good diet and hygiene were the most common recommendations. One NGO director told me,

If you are healthy (eat well and don't worry) you can stop the growth of that virus. If you are not healthy, then naturally, from both the sides—health-wise and disease-wise also, the virus will eat you up.⁵

Directors of three other AIDS related NGOs similarly told of the importance of 1) love, 2) good diet, and 3) keeping a positive attitude. These are all traditional ideas about illness that have been applied to HIV/AIDS as well.

The role of doctors and policy makers

Nepali doctors and policy makers have also been influential in creating and confirming elements of the wider cultural model. First, through deference to Western education and prevention models (as noted above), the doctors and policy makers have promoted the aforementioned elements (AIDS as fatal, infectious and sexually transmitted) of the major cultural model. Next, doctors and policy makers have been influential in perpetuating these ideas via the media as we will see in the next section. Finally, doctors have also sent powerful non-verbal messages through their actions that have confirmed many of the traditional schemata associated with AIDS in the minds of the general public. For instance, the common practice of doctors refusing to treat patients once they know they are HIV positive is well documented throughout the narratives of thirty PWAs (Beine 2000b).⁶ This practice has also been well documented elsewhere (Dixit 1996; Karki 1998) and we will see further examples of it in the media in the next section. I personally encountered many experiences that further confirmed this practice. Besides the various stories told to me by PWAs, I was told directly by several doctors that they are aware of colleagues who will not treat PWAs. An incident of mistreatment of a PWA also occurred at Patan Hospital during my research that prompted a scolding letter from the hospital director (Figure 2).⁷ Some members of the Emergency Room staff had refused to treat (or even touch) a patient once their HIV status was revealed. One NGO director told me of several incidences in which she had taken her HIV positive girls in for treatment, but they had been told to go to another place for treatment. After arriving to the recommended location they were also refused treatment by medical professionals. And another NGO director told me of her friend (a female medical doctor) who refused to touch her when the doctor discovered that a PWA had vomited on her. It seems that fear is prevalent amongst many in the medical community.

The findings of two different KAP studies done among doctors in Nepal (Bhattarai, Karki and Naing 1999; Beine 1999) suggested that the knowledge of the majority of the doctors surveyed was adequate in many areas of HIV transmission. Nevertheless, there were certain areas where a surprisingly large number of doctors seem to be following the Nepali cultural models of AIDS rather than biomedical knowledge as it relates to HIV/AIDS. For instance, in the first study 44.5% of the doctors agreed that it was necessary

to fumigate the bed and the room occupied after the discharge or death of any AIDS patient (Bhattarai, Karki and Naing 1999:6).⁸

Likewise two-thirds of the doctors agreed that gloves need to be worn while feeding an AIDS patient or wiping saliva from his/her mouth and only half responded that HIV positive patients can be kept in wards with other patients (Bhattarai, Karki and Naing 1999:7). Wearing gloves while feeding AIDS patients and keeping patients in separate wards are both medically unwarranted practices (Bhattarai, Karki and Naing 1999:22). Likewise, 56.7% of the doctors responded affirmatively or undecidedly when asked if AIDS is a problem of moral behavior (45.4% yes, 11.3% undecided) and 31.9% answered affirmative or undecided when asked whether they would feel uncomfortable inviting someone with HIV/AIDS into their home (Beine 1999). Although the questionnaire was a "tick the box" type, one respondent even wrote in reply to this question, "I know I shouldn't, but still I hesitate."

I also asked questions regarding two popular rumors that were circulating around Nepal during the time of my research. The first had to do with a rumor that people were using HIV infected needles to "pump up" raw chickens with water before their sale in order to increase their profits. According to the rumor, people were eating the chickens and becoming infected with HIV. The second had to do with PWAs (the newspapers labeled these people "AIDS junkies") leaving "infected needles" hidden in the cushions of movie hall seats where an unsuspecting victim would later enter (in the dark) and sit on the needles, stabbing themselves, thus becoming infected with the HIV virus.⁹ It must be noted that the HIV virus is generally very weak and would not likely survive cooking nor even being out of the body long enough to be put in a syringe and stabbed through cushions into another person. In fact, the odds of infection from blood transferred directly from body to body via needles (such as inadvertent medical needle sticks) is only one in two hundred and fifty (Bhattarai, Karki and Naing 1999:24). Suffice it to say, that the chicken rumor is virtually impossible and the movie hall rumor, although theoretically possible, is also extremely unlikely according to medical professionals. Yet it was surprising to me that seventeen percent of the medical doctors either expressed belief in, or the possibility of, transfer of AIDS via eating chicken (4.1%) or were uncertain about the possibility (13%) of this mode of transmission. One Western-trained medical school professor commenting on the question volunteered, "We have been teaching this as a possibility in our environmental health course, but the evidence is not conclusive." Likewise, 59.3% expressed belief



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NEPAL

G. P. O. Box 252
Kathmandu, Nepal.

To: Patient Hospital Doctors, Health Assistants, and Nurses
From: Dr. Mark Zimmerman, MD
Date: 8 October 1998

Concerning: The care of HIV positive patients

Dear Colleagues,

HIV positive patients pose a number of clinical, social and emotional problems. From time to time, we all need to be reminded about their appropriate care. Recent incidents with two such patients lead me to write to you at this time.

- Examination and referral of HIV positive patients

At Patan Hospital, we expect that all doctors, health assistants, and nurses will provide the same excellent care to HIV patients as they do to all patients. Because of the extremely low likelihood of a medical care giver ever getting HIV from a patient, and because protective equipment is available to all who work in this hospital, there is no excuse for anyone to refuse to see a patient who is HIV positive or to limit the care given.

- Writing and speaking about the "HIV" status of the patient

Universal precautions mean that all blood and body fluids should be treated as if it were positive for HIV. Because more than 90% of the HIV in a community is likely to be unrecognized, it is essential that you take appropriate protective measures for all patients whose body fluid may come into contact with you.

The policy of Patan Hospital and its Infection Control Committee is that we DO NOT label specimens, patient charts or lab slips as being "HIV", "HBV", or even "high risk". If we take special precautions with these few patients, it leads to carelessness with other patients (some of whom will be positive, but unrecognized.)

You should take measures to assure confidentiality about the patient's disease. DO NOT write boldly "HIV" on places where this might be seen by non-staff. It may be best on rounds to speak of a patient's "immunodeficiency virus" rather than saying "HIV" in front of visitors. As with all diseases, a particular patient's HIV status should not be discussed outside the treating team.

Thanks for your help in this challenging area.

Sincerely,

Mark D. Zimmerman, MD

Figure 2 Hospital Director's letter to address mistreatment of
PWAs at Patan Hospital.

in, or were undecided about, the possibility of contracting HIV through a needle stick at a movie hall (36.4% yes, 22.9% undecided). It seems that a surprising number of medical doctors are acting, in part, on the cultural model of AIDS as it relates to *sarawa rogs* (transmittable disease including the concept of *chichi durdur* [separation]) rather than trusting the biomedical knowledge on the subject.

I should make the point that the figures above suggest that the majority of Nepali doctors do not share these opinions and seem to be treating AIDS patients appropriately. I should also point out that these types of irrational beliefs (medically speaking) are not restricted to Nepali doctors or even to doctors working in the developing world. A KAP study conducted among primary care physicians in New York State in 1988 demonstrated that eleven percent of the medical doctors surveyed believed that it was either very likely or somewhat likely that a person could contract the HIV virus by being coughed on or sneezed on by a PWA (Gemson et al. 1991).

Although it is clear from the figures above that the number of medical doctors who hold these opinions comprise a minority, the impact of this minority's beliefs and actions upon the wider cultural models of AIDS is great. Many stories about doctors refusing service to AIDS patients have been published in the media. A doctor treating an AIDS patient is not "news" while one who refuses to treat a PWA is "news." The result is that only stories about doctors not treating or mistreating PWAs are published, thus generating a perception among the general public that normalizes the practices of the minority. And since they are doctors, the general public, not being privy to the majority view, defers to the understanding of their "developed" countrymen. Thus, some doctors further perpetuate a cultural model (based on the application of traditional schemata). I will talk more about the role of the media in the creation of a cultural model in the next section.

Doctors' refusals to touch and treat PWAs also have had an impact in the creation of a cultural model in the village area. In a discussion regarding the modes of transmission, one villager told me "even city doctors are not touching people with AIDS. We read about it in the paper. They are educated people! What do we know? We are simple villagers. They are the developed (*bikasi*) ones." His response was in reply to my question of why he believed that AIDS could be spread through touch. Here we see that the doctors' actions have been used to confirm the application of traditional ideas regarding *sarawa rogs* to AIDS. And as can be seen by the figures above, the

doctors' beliefs about the separation of AIDS patients from others also confirms the traditional concept of *chichi durdur* (separation). We also see, again the impact of the deference displayed toward those considered more *bikasi*.

Medical doctors also have contributed to the element of blame in the wider cultural model. First of all, in response to the question about which groups of people in Nepal are most greatly affected by AIDS, prostitutes and drug addicts were the two most frequent responses. Although these two groups are, in fact, the two most affected groups, they are also traditionally considered "bad people" as has been previously noted. The association of AIDS with these groups, therefore, has inadvertently created the image of AIDS as a "bad people's" disease, thus warranting blame. And a little less inadvertently, a surprising number of doctors (as noted above) considered AIDS a problem of immoral behavior. This certainly perpetuates the idea that AIDS is a "bad people's" disease, which creates societal blame and hate and further stigmatizes those with the disease.

It is clear that some of the doctors are employing a cultural model of AIDS that is a product of both imported Western ideas (fatal, infectious and sexually transmitted) and the activation of traditional schemata (*sarawa* and *chichi durdur*). The view of these doctors is then spread (via the media) and deference is shown to their opinion by lay people who use the actions of these doctors to construct and confirm a cultural model that includes the above mentioned traditional schemata. Thus we see how doctors are contributing to a wider cultural model of AIDS that displays fear, hate and blame as major components.

When investigating why this "irrational fear" exists among some Nepali doctors it was suggested that the fatal nature of the disease is the key. For example, one NGO director who had many doctors turn her PWAs away told me,

The doctors say one thing, but do another because they don't want to die. I think that even though they read about how AIDS can and cannot transfer in their medical books, they are just not sure. They passed their exams by reading the books, but they are just not certain. AIDS is fatal. They don't know if they can trust the books. They don't want to die.

Another doctor, when asked why doctors would be acting against their medical knowledge, replied, "because death is the final trump card." It seems that fear of death is, indeed, a powerful force that is influencing the cultural model of AIDS in Nepal creating much fear. The biological basis for this will be discussed later in this paper.

The role of the media

Various authors have examined the role that the media has played in the construction of a social understanding (cultural model) of HIV/AIDS in various countries (Albert 1986; Baker 1986; Herzlich 1989; Lyttleton 1996). As in other countries, the media has been instrumental in the creation and confirmation of the widely held cultural model of HIV/AIDS in Nepal. In this section I will examine several phases the media have passed through in their representation of HIV/AIDS to the general public and I will discuss the role the media have played in the creation of a cultural model of AIDS.

First of all, it is notable that the doctors and policy makers early on identified and targeted the media as a valuable vehicle for the creation of public awareness about HIV/AIDS (Karuna 1998). Therefore, the early information going out to the general public about AIDS via the media were those ideas (e.g. fatal, infectious, sexually transmitted) passed along to the media by the policy planners, who had developed these messages under the influence of Western models. The use of the media as a vehicle for creating awareness regarding AIDS has been very successful to date. Various studies (including the rural study presented in chapter six of my dissertation) have confirmed that the media (mainly Radio Nepal) has been the major source of AIDS information (Karmic Society et al. 1998; New Era 1997; Maharjan et al. 1994).

The first phase of the media presentation of HIV/AIDS focused on the issues mentioned above. Because of the association with sexual transmission, the dialogue on HIV/AIDS quickly became subsumed under the girl trafficking discourse. Early articles focused on the association between AIDS and commercial sex work, and CSWs (all women) began to be blamed for the advent of AIDS in Nepal. For instance, in 1991 a leading Nepali magazine published an article that featured the story (including picture, name and village) of a woman named Geeta (Figure 3). In the article she was identified as a prostitute returning home from Bombay and carrying AIDS (Janmanch 1991:12). Later that same year the director of the NGO where Geeta had been

living in Kathmandu returned with her to Geeta's home village. About this visit she wrote:

When we stepped down from our jeep in Melamchi, people surrounded us and stared at Geeta. We soon felt that they were silently blaming her for her condition as they held out their copies of Janmanch magazine. Geeta was thirsty and weak from the trip, but when she attempted to get drinking water from a shop, she was refused. This was her first experience of contempt and segregation in her own community, but not her last. As we walked to her father's house, a large crowd followed us over the bridge and up the narrow path.

We soon met Geeta's father along the track, but he stood expressionless before his daughter. We tried to talk to him about his daughter's health and needs, but he turned from us. Further up the hill, we met Geeta's mother. She asked us to take Geeta back to Kathmandu: she told us she did not want her home. Only then did Geeta cry out in anger and humiliation. (ABC Nepal 1996:56)

Later in the article, the NGO director describes a second visit to Geeta's village after Geeta had reluctantly been allowed to live there again:

They [Geeta's family] believed that the disease could be contracted through casual contact... Geeta's relatives were reluctant to accept responsibility for her... They still feared that casual contact of almost any kind would transmit the virus.

The community was still very wary and hostile toward Geeta. She had been restricted from using the road or going to the bazaar. In other words, she was effectively quarantined. At home, her family still believed that casual contact with Geeta could make them sick. She was forced to use a separate comb for her hair, a separate plate and glass, and she was not allowed to touch or hold her younger brothers or sisters. In her small world, she was kept apart by fear, and there were no avenues for simple expressions of love and affection. Geeta was frustrated and hurt by how she was being treated and she wanted to leave the village.

एड्समा मौलाएका गैर सरकारी संस्था

तारानाथ दाहाल

नुवाकोट, सिन्धुपाल्चोक र काठमाडौंको उत्तरी क्षेत्रका गाउँहरूमा त्यस्तो एउटा गाउँ पनि छैन, जहाँ गैर सरकारी संस्थाका समाजसेवीहरू



गीता दनुवार जो अखिर वैशाखीका मृत्यु परिचरिणी भिन्

नुपुगेका हुन् र सामुदायिक विकास एवम् एड्सको कुरा नगरेका हुन्।

सिन्धुपाल्चोक जिल्ला र नुवाकोट जिल्ला चेलीबेटी बेचबिखनको निमित्त कहलिएको नै छ। छोरी, बहिनी, बुझारी, स्वास्नी, भाउजी र भतिजी बेचेर पनि टिनका छाना लगाएका घरहरू काठमाडौंको उत्तरपूर्वी पहाडी क्षेत्रमा प्रशस्त पाइन्छन्। चेलीबेटीको बिक्री गर्ने प्रयासले सामाजिक मान्यता पाइसकेको छ र प्रशस्तगनले पनि कानुनी छुट जस्तै दिएको छ। यी ठाउँहरू राजधानीमा बसेर समाजसेवाको पगारी गुन्नेहरूका निमित्त खडेपन्दा उपयुक्त ठाउँ हुन पुगेका छन्।

ए हजार! सदनमा समेत झग्रे जिल्लाको बदनमा म-यो रे एउटा काग्रेसले, छोरी बेच्ने ठाउँ भनेर भन्यो रे, त्यस्तैलाई झग्रे अर्जुन नरसिंहले पनि कैरी गरेनन्, म भए त त्यही

ठीक यहाँ नुवाकोट ध्याइफेदीका वीरबहादुर घस्यान आफ्नो गाउँ-ठाउँबाट छोरीबेटी बेचिएकैमा छैन, आफ्नो गाउँको नाम लिएकैमा यसरी क्रुद्ध भएका छन्। उनी फछन्- कस्तोई भए यहाँ छैन र? बम्बईमा बेच्छ, तहाँ रण्डी काम गर्नुपर्छ भनेर। तर जान्छन् भने कसले रोक्ने। चेलीबेटीहरूलाई बेच्ने कामलाई रोक्नु पर्दैन। भनेर सफाउंदा वीरबहादुरले उक्त प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त गरे। सिन्धुपाल्चोक हुनुका किमनसिंह एड्स एड्स! भनेर प्रचार गर्दैसि भोकिदै भन्छन्- 'बस्तु चलाउने स्थलका काटने शिवपुरीको डाँडोलाई चाँहि सेर्ने छजुरा र घाँसकाटन नदिने, सिपाहीहरू राख्ने, खर्क नै हडप्ने पनि विकास रे! केटीहरू ताहुर जान हुँदैन भन्ने कुरा पनि विकास रे! यस्तो पनि हुन्छ विकास? किमनसिंहलाई काग्रेसले खासन मलाए यत 'पटवकै मन परेको छैन।' पछिला पछिला त झकियहरू आए पनि, बाबुगाहेव आए पनि केटी, बेच्न हुँदैन पनि भन्दैन्थ्यो, शिवपुरीमा घाँस काट्न हुँदैनथ्यो पनि भन्दैन्थ्यो- उनी भन्छन्।

सिन्धुपाल्चोक र नुवाकोटमा यस वर्ष भन् बढी केटीहरू विदेशिएका छन्। सिन्धुपाल्चोक दुखचौरका सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता केशव सुवेदी जनआन्दोलनपछि प्रवासन यत्र कमजोर भएको महसूस गर्नुहुन्छ। उहाँका अनुसार 'थुप्रै सामाजिक संस्थाहरूले चेतना बृद्धि गर्ने कार्यक्रम संचालन गरे पनि केटीहरू बेचिने क्रममा भन् बृद्धि भएको छ।' यस्तै अनुभव नुवाकोट तिसुखोलाका होतन्द्र कुवालको पनि छ।

विगत केही वर्षदेखि सिन्धुपाल्चोक जिल्लालाई आफ्नो कार्यक्षेत्र बनाएको एबी.सी. नेपाल क्षुब्ध बन्न आधारभूत स्वास्थ्य र सरकारी नेपाल का निर्देशिका दुर्गम भिमिरेले केही दिन अगाडि बसंग भन्नुभएको थियो- 'यदि चेलीबेटी बेचबिखनलाई रोक्ने हो भने, यतिवेला एउटा त एड्सको प्रचार गर्नुपर्दछ र यो महामारीबाट बच्न चेलीबेटी नबेच्नुस भन्नुपर्छ। अर्को वैकल्पिक आर्थिक आयको व्यवस्था गर्नुपर्छ।

भिमिरेको एबी.सी. नेपालले एड्सको प्रकोपसँगै मरेमा त्यस क्षेत्रमा थुप्रै पटक गोष्ठी र सेमिनारको आयोजना पनि नगरेको खेदः पछिला पुनर्संरचना आयोजना र बल बन्दु सरोकार केन्द्र जस्ता संस्था लगायत स्थानीय रोकथाम एड्स प्रिभेन्शन कन्ट्रोल योजना र स्थानीय जनस्वास्थ्य शासले पनि केही न केही गरेको छन् तर यी प्रयासहरूको कुनै सकाशातक तखण नुवाकोट र सिन्धुपाल्चोकका गाउँहरूमा देख्न सकिँदैन।

यी ठाउँमा यहाँसम्म सुन्नु पर्- यो छी खेवमा कार्यरत संस्थाहरूकै कर्मचारीहरूले समेत चेलीबेटी बेच्ने गरेका छन् भनेर। उनीहरूलाई प्रोत्साहित कक्षा, प्रशिक्षण भत्ता र स्वास्थ्य शिविरहरूदेखि त भन् बढी नै पसर्न पाएको छ। सिन्धुपाल्चोक छोटेचौरका एक शिक्षकले त्ये क्षेत्रमा कार्यरत एकजना एड, नेत्रलकै कर्मचारी समेत बेचिएको दृष्टान्त सुनाए।

एड्स प्रिभेन्शन कन्ट्रोल प्रोग्रामका नाममा श्री ५ को सरकारले केटीहरू रूपैको ब्याज भए एड्स रोगको महामारी रोक्न प्रचार अभियान गरिरहेछ। तर यी कार्यक्रम भन् प्रत्युत्पन्न भएको छ- गाउँघरमा। एक विरबस्त सुवेले जङ्गल अनुसार केन्द्रीय रक्त परीक्षण केन्द्रमा तत् परीक्षण गरेर फेला परेका २९ एड्स रोगीमध्ये १ जना (गीता दनुवार लगायत) सिन्धुपाल्चोकका र ७ जना नुवाकोटका रहेका छन्, जसको बारेमा जनमञ्चले पहिल्यै लेखिसकेको छ। तिमध्ये ७२ प्रतिशत बेचिएर फर्किएका चेलीबेटीहरू हुन् र २४ प्रतिशत तिनबाट फैलिएको ब्यक्तिहरूको रगतमा देखा परेको हो। तर यो कुरा एड्स प्रिभेन्शन कन्ट्रोल आयोजनाका अधिकृत स्वीकार्दैनन् र यो बताउन नमिल्ने कुरा भन्छन्। लगभग ३०० जनाको रक्त परीक्षणबाट ९ जनामा एच.आइ.वी. भोजेटिभ देखा पर्नु निराश्रय पनि चिन्ताजनक अवस्था हो र यस समाचारले सिन्धुपाल्चोकमा नासको वास्तवरण सिर्जना गरेको छ।

इहस्ता कीटाणु भएका ब्यक्तिहरू जहिले पनि समाजमा अपरिचित रूपमा नै रहनुले गैर रोक्न कसरी भइत गाउँ भनी सोझा एड्स नियन्त्रण आयोजनाका अधिकृतले रोगीको पुनर्संरचनाको समस्या एकातिर हुने र उहाँहरू विरबन्धी प्रवृत्तनमा पनि एड्सका कीटाणु फैला परेका ब्यक्तिहरू समाजमा परिचित

जनमञ्च १२

Figure 3 Geeta's story, featured in Janmanch magazine (Janmanch 1991:12), showed her picture, gave her real name and the name of her village, and prompted much ostracization by her family and other villagers.

I organized another meeting with Geeta's family members to discuss these problems. The family explained their actions. They said that the community would outcast them if they allowed Geeta to remain with them. But their own beliefs, I knew, would have propelled them to treat Geeta like this even without community sanctions. (ABC Nepal 1996:58)

From this example we can see the impact of 1) an association of AIDS as fatal, infectious, and sexually transmitted as promoted by the media, and 2) the application of the traditional *sarawa* (transmittable disease and the embedded *chichi durdur* [separation] schemata) and *randi* (promiscuity--including blame and *grena* [disdain]) schemata. Unfortunately, this sad scenario was played out in village after village as CSWs returned from India with AIDS.

In 1996 one major media event further supported the association of HIV/AIDS with the girl trafficking discourse. One hundred and twenty-eight Nepali girls were repatriated to Nepal from the brothels of Bombay (Ghimire 1997). The underage girls had been rescued from the brothels during police raids and held in various rehabilitation centers while the Indian Government discussed repatriation of the girls to Nepal. At first, the Nepal government was not responsive, but after much pressure they agreed to repatriation (Ghimire 1997). Regarding this incident, Ghimire writes,

We did not receive favorable coverage from the media. The media has started to publicize the issue, but in many cases some media only want to publish the victims' names and photographs which creates a negative impact in the society. One of the rescued girls from Bombay was working in a destitute home for widows and displaced women. One day she was interviewed on a radio program. Immediately after the broadcast other destitute women living in the center recognized her voice and came to know about her story. Immediately she was forced by the other members to leave the center. They told her that she would continue the same business (prostitution) and defame those working in the center... sometimes the publicity of the victim creates a lot of problems for the rehabilitation of the rescued girls as well as HIV positive cases. (Ghimire 1997:18)

This repatriation made major headlines in various Nepali mediums and the association of AIDS with commercial sex work was further solidified in the minds of the general public. And again, the elements of fear, hate and blame are clearly evident in this example. It is also evident that the application of the *randi* (promiscuity) schema results in the labeling of those with AIDS (due to the strong association with commercial sex) as "bad people."

During the second phase of the media's development of AIDS, the cultural model grew to include other "bad people" (drug users) as carriers of AIDS. Again, when the findings of the early AIDS studies in Nepal began to confirm that many injecting drug users (IDUs) were contracting AIDS, the policy makers began to channel messages to the media that made a strong association between drugs and AIDS. The media in turn passed the information along and more stories about AIDS and drugs joined the stories about prostitution. The association of AIDS with another group traditionally branded as "bad people" further stigmatized the disease.

The findings of a recent six month media study (Beine 2000a) confirm that stories that promote fear, hate and blame (the major elements of the widely-held cultural model) are still being widely circulated via the media. Table 1 displays the findings of the media study. Over a six-month period, the leading English daily newspaper published, on average, two and a half stories weekly about HIV/AIDS. Sixty-six percent of the articles were related principally to AIDS in Nepal and were published in the "local" section of the newspaper.¹⁰ The other 34% of articles related to AIDS internationally and appeared in the "international" section. The articles in both sections can be grouped by focus. Forty-four percent of the "local" articles centered primarily on sensationalizing the AIDS epidemic in Nepal. Twenty six percent of the articles would be considered more or less "educational" stories. Nine percent focused primarily on condom use. Nine percent focused primarily on drug use. Seven percent focused primarily on girl trafficking or commercial sex work issues. And five percent focused on political economic issues associated with AIDS. Of the international stories 73% were sensationalizing articles, twenty-three percent were primarily educational stories, and four percent focused on a trafficking discourse about AIDS.

The largest numbers of articles in both the local and international groupings were sensationalizing (54% of the total). The sensationalizing stories create fear that consequently spawns blame and hate toward PWAs.

Table 1: AIDS related articles from a six-month analysis of the Kathmamdu Post.

Local Articles:

Association made between AIDS and:

Article focus	fatal	infectious	sex	drugs	other
A. Sensationalizing Article titles:					
1. Over 25,000 Nepalis HIV+	X	X	X		condoms, western anti HIV drugs
2. Big Dilemma as AIDS Cases Increase		X	X	X	condoms
3. Tainted Blood Supply	X				
4. HIV Scourge in Morang	X				
5. TB Snowballing Into Serious Threat	X	X			
6. Man Tricked Into Marrying AIDS Victim					"dreaded disease"
7. Rude Shock for Bridegroom With HIV	X	X			"killer disease"
8. Health Workers Unknowledgeable about AIDS	X				
9. Nepal Will Have 50,000 AIDS Cases By 2000	X	X	X		
10. AIDS Claims Seven	X				those who go to foreign countries
11. Health For All By 2000: A Distant Dream	X	X			
12. Children Suffer From AIDS Due to Parents Mistake	X	X	X	X	tied to "flesh traders"
13. HIV/AIDS Alarming in Developing World	X	X			

14. AIDS And Tuberculosis: A Bloody Tie	X				food: "but if the food and atmosphere are good, they may live longer." preference to attribute death to TB rather than AIDS
15. Blood Screening on the Agenda Due to HIV	X	X	X		transfusion
16. HIV To Orphan 40M By 2020	X	X	X		
17. As Ill Luck Would Have It, She Came Back With AIDS Virus	X	X		X	transfusion
18. HIV Tainted Needle Attacks—Rumor or Reality?	X	X	X	X	
19. Hospitals Facing Blood Shortage		X			blood related

Table 1: AIDS related articles from a six-month analysis of the Kathmamdu Post.

Local Articles: (continued)

Article focus	fatal	infectious	sex	drugs	other
B. Educational focus					
Article titles:					
1. Only Way To Arrest March of AIDS	X	X	X	X	condoms
2. Talk on HIV/AIDS	X	X			
3. Workshop on HIV/AIDS Ends	X				
4. Collective Efforts to Combat AIDS Stressed		X			
5. Awareness About Aids Vital		X			
6. Children's Move Against AIDS	X				
7. AIDS Training Ends			X		
8. AIDS Awareness Workshop in Heteauda		X	X		
9. Awareness on AIDS Vital				X	"dreaded disease"
10. In Aid of AIDS (Quiz)	X	X	X	X	foreign origin
11. Workshop on HIV/AIDS Concludes		X	X		
C. Girl Trafficking/CSW focus					
1. The Development Journey		X	X		
2. Sex For Sale		X	X	X	
3. They Went to the Land of Dreams to Seek Fortune But Found Only...	X	X	X		foreign tie

D. Condom focus					
1. Condom Users on the Rise		X	X		
2. NGOs Promote Condom Use	X	X	X		
3. Condom Day for Community Mobilization		X	X		
4. Thanks to Condom		X	X		
E. Drug focus					
1. 50 Percent Pushers Are HIV Positive				X	"AIDS junkies"
2. Needle Exchange Helps Worsen HIV/AIDS Menace	X	X	X	X	expresses compassion toward drug users tied to foreigners
3. Drug Addicts Contract AIDS Due to Syringe Sharing	X	X		X	compassion expressed "ruined"
F. Political Economy focus					
1. All's Well At AIDS Meet But Grass Roots Voices Ignored		X	X		girl trafficking/csw discourse development discourse
2. 1 out of 5 HIV Patients in Asia	X				new drug therapies economic issues of AIDS

Table 1 AIDS related articles from a six-month analysis of the Kathmamdu Post.

International articles:

Article focus	fatal	infectious	sex	drugs	other
A. Sensationalizing					
Article titles:					
1. Man Charged For Not Informing of AIDS	X	X	X		
2. Children Innocent Victims of Africa's AIDS Epidemic	X	X			
3. Doctor Accused of Trying to Kill Mistress With AIDS Injection	X	X	X		
4. HIV Cases rose 10% in 1998: WHO		X			
5. South Africa Has Fastest Growing HIV Epidemic	X	X			
6. HIV Infected Mother Hangs Disabled Son					
7. AIDS, Poverty Destroy African Respect for Dead	X	X			
8. US Govt. Urged to Collect HIV Positive People's Names		X	X		tied to gays
9. Homosexuals Have Highest Percent of AIDS Infections			X	X	tied to gays
10. Death Takes a Holiday in the Gay Community	X	X	X	X	tied to gays new drug therapies
11. AIDS: The Big Health Crisis Facing Nigeria's New Rulers	X	X	X		

12. AIDS Day Observed Amid Alarm in Developing World	X	X	X		isolation new drug therapies
13. 820,000 Asians Contracted HIV in 1998: UN		X	X	X	
14. Urban Poor Women Face High Risk of Acquiring AIDS		X	X	X	
15. AIDS Virus Affects 7000 A Day	X	X			breast feeding
16. Indian State Heading for AIDS Disaster		X	X	X	
B. Educational Focus					
1. Global Call to Action Against AIDS	X	X	X		economic issues condoms
2. Clinton Marks World AIDS Day	X	X			
3. Mandela Hits Out at Silence on AIDS		X			
4. Anti AIDS Substance in Urine Identified		X			
5. US Takes a Hard Look at Blacks, AIDS	X	X	X	X	tied to gays condoms
C. Trafficking Discourse					
1. AIDS, Poverty Spur Child Trafficking		X	X		economic tie

One exemplary article is titled "Big Dilemma for Nepal as AIDS Cases Increase." The article suggests:

Nepal's health infrastructure may not be able to cope with the increasing number of HIV/AIDS patients who are certain to seek scarce hospital beds when they reach the stage of full-blown AIDS. In that case, people who need immediate medical attention, for example: appendicitis patients or patients with broken limbs will be the sufferers...If the number of people with full blown AIDS suddenly increases, a lot more people with HIV negative will also be sufferers. (Silwal 1998)

Such articles certainly play a role in the creation of fear, blame and hate towards PWAs in Nepal.

Although the articles are grouped by primary focus, it should be noted that associations between AIDS and various other topics were also made throughout the articles as is demonstrated in Table 1. The strongest associations throughout the articles were 1) AIDS is infectious (mentioned in 78% of the articles), 2) AIDS is fatal (mentioned in 57% of the articles), 3) AIDS is sexually transmitted (mentioned in 54% of the articles), and 4) AIDS is drug use related (mentioned in 25% of the articles). It is clear from these findings that the media is strongly promoting the major elements of the wider cultural model (e.g. AIDS as a fatal, infectious, sexually transmitted disease). It is also easy to understand how the media's association of AIDS with CSWs and IDUs has stigmatized AIDS as a "bad people's" disease. The association made between AIDS and gays (another "bad people" group in Nepal) in four articles further adds to the image of AIDS a "bad people's" disease. And, of course, societal blame and hate is traditionally warranted against "bad people" as a form of social control.

Besides these major thematic associations, several articles also made associations between AIDS and various issues we saw reflected in a few of the earlier narratives. For instance, in chapter seven I noted the belief expressed by one PWA that an HIV positive diagnosis could turn to negative. One article (Kathmandu Post 1998a.), commenting on the plight of children in South Africa, states that, "two-thirds of babies who test positive for the AIDS virus at birth later test negative." Likewise, several narrators from the narrative analysis project (Beine 2000b) commented on the possibility of new drug therapies to cure AIDS. As noted in Table 1, five articles included

comments regarding the availability of these new drug therapies in the West. Other themes familiar in the narratives, such as a foreign origin of AIDS (five articles) and the association between good diet, positive attitude and health (one article), are demonstrated in Table 1.

The theme of societal compassion for drug users, that was evident among the male urban PWAs in the findings of the narrative analysis project (Beine 2000), is also expressed in two different articles. For instance one article tells of an "unfortunate young lad who fell into the clutches of drug abuse" and claims that "the very society which could have rescued him from the horrors of drug abuse, was one way or the other, responsible for pushing him into the present misery" (Kathmandu Post 1998b.).

In an evaluation of the media's recent portrayal of HIV/AIDS and assessment of future use of the media in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Nepal, the director of the National Center has written:

In the Nepali media today, we see a qualitative improvement in the coverage of HIV/AIDS. It is fairly rare to see newspapers and magazines publishing pictures of people living with HIV, or their names. The articles are factually more accurate, fairer, they address the root issues and not just the sensational elements of an HIV/AIDS story. Radio and television have also seen improvements, with the introduction of an adolescent sexuality hotline on FM radio as well as longer issue based coverage of the disease on community radio and Radio Nepal.

But still, the lack of accurate and up-to-date information on the scientific, sociological, developmental or human rights aspects of the disease still hobbles the media's handling of HIV/AIDS coverage within Nepal. If the press and public relations firms are going to be used as vehicles for awareness creation, it is still necessary to sensitize mainstream media professionals regularly about HIV/AIDS. Media seminars on HIV/AIDS cannot be one shot affairs, they have to be regular and sustained. Otherwise, instead of awareness we're going to have more confusion in the Nepali public.

Aside from the mainstream media, the tabloid press still by and large treats HIV/AIDS either as a titillating sensationalist news item to boost circulation or as an excuse to stereotype, stigmatize or victimize people living with HIV. This has only

served to scare the public, alienate infected people, and perpetuate prevailing ignorance.

Sensitizing media will check the negative side effects of inaccurate information and help move on to spreading mass awareness and ultimately bring about the behavior change that is needed to halt the epidemic. It is clear that if Nepal and other South Asian countries are to tackle a rapid spread of HIV there has to be a radically new approach to using communications for awareness building. Present efforts within Nepal for instance may be inadequate to meet the challenges of this looming crisis. (Karki 1998)

In this section we have seen the interplay that has existed between three unique groups (NGOs, doctors and policy makers, and the media) in the creation of a cultural model of HIV/AIDS in Nepal. AIDS has entered the public conscience of Nepal, in part, via the messages of these various groups. Because AIDS is a new disease, the formulation of a cultural model of HIV/AIDS has been strongly influenced by these preliminary messages about the disease. Once enough information existed, the disease was categorized (through the schematization process) and relevant associated cultural schemata were applied. The messages of "fatal," "infectious" and "sexually transmitted" communicated by the NGOs and doctors and policy makers via the media were enough to evoke associations of AIDS as a *sarawa rog* (requiring the practice of *chichi durdur*), and as a disease affecting primarily those who are *randi*. These various associations have produced a cultural model of AIDS in Nepal that has, in turn, created an atmosphere of fear, hate and blame exhibited toward PWAs in Nepal.

A comparison of Cultural models: Implications of Underlying Biological Schemata

The research presented in this paper affords good opportunity to compare the emerging cultural model of AIDS with other models around the world. For instance, Paul Farmer (1994:805) identifies the key elements of a village Haitian cultural model as shared understandings: 1) of AIDS as a new disease, 2) of AIDS as associated with skin infections, drying up, diarrhea, and most strongly with tuberculosis, 3) of AIDS as the result of a) sexual contact with a carrier, b) the result of voodoo, or c) both, 4) that whether the

result of sex or voodoo, it is caused by a microbe, 5) that AIDS is transmitted through contact with contaminated blood, and 6) that AIDS is closely associated with larger political-economic issues. Besides this list, Farmer identifies, but leaves unspecified, other key elements of rural Haitians' understandings about AIDS as fatal, which produces much "personal fear" (1994:805). Likewise, Herzlich (1989) has demonstrated how the media were influential in the construction of a cultural model of AIDS in France that socially constructed an understanding of AIDS as 1) fatal and infectious, producing great fear, and 2) sexually transmitted (but tied to a group considered deviant -- homosexuals), thus creating an atmosphere of moral judgement and blame. Albert (1986), studying the media's involvement in the creation of a cultural model of AIDS in America has demonstrated that fatal and infectious were two major elements (due mainly to the initial "unknown" nature of the disease) that produced much fear. And because of the "fear of contagion" and the association with the gay community, a major theme of the media was blame, usually in the form of considering AIDS as a punishment of God. And Lyttleton (1996) has demonstrated how AIDS in Thailand (via the media again) was associated with the much feared "other." Like in Nepal, the major association was with prostitutes and drug users (societal deviants).

Although many specifics differ between the Nepali, Haitian, French, American and Thai models, there are some striking similarities between the models (in form) as well. For instance, all of these models first associated AIDS with marginalized groups. In Haiti, America and France, it was homosexuals, while in Thailand and Nepal, it was prostitutes (including *randi*) and drug users, both classified as "bad people" groups who were marginalized by the wider society. Next, both models display the extension of traditional ideas to the new disease. In the case of Haiti, it is that AIDS can be contracted through voodoo. In Nepal, it is that AIDS, a *sarawa* illness, can be contracted through the same means as other *sarawa* illnesses (like TB¹¹ and leprosy). In France, it was pre-existing understandings of STDs (particularly genital herpes) that were influential in shaping a social understanding of HIV/AIDS. In America, it was ideas about the great plague of the Dark Ages (because "plague" had been popularly presented as an image schema for AIDS). And in Thailand, it was pre-existing understandings of the "feared other" with whom AIDS had become associated.

Blame is a common feature of all the models although the object of blame differs from culture to culture. For instance, in the case of the American, French, Thai and Nepali models it is marginalized groups, while in the case of Haiti, Farmer (1994) demonstrates that the blame is directed toward perceived agents of hegemony

The positing of dualistic explanations for the disease (although they can differ from culture to culture) is also common to various models. For instance, as noted earlier, *karma* (past actions) and drug use were both cited in Nepali texts as possible causes of AIDS. Likewise, Farmer notes the dualistic explanations of AIDS as the possible result of "germs" and "voodoo." Closely related to the idea of dualistic explanations for illness is the notion of multiple causes for disease. The understanding of AIDS being the result of a viral infection or a punishment for sin is common to the American (Giblin 1995:136) and French (Herzlich 1989:1237) models.¹² The notion of multiple causation of illness has also been noted in general models of illness in Brazil (Price 1987:328). In all of these cases we see multiple notions of disease causation that combine traditional beliefs regarding illness with modern understandings of Western biomedicine.

In all the models we see the common themes of fear, blame and hate (because of the association of AIDS with "bad people"). In many cases, the common themes have produced common responses. For instance, the early American model, chronicled by several other authors, shares many striking similarities with the Nepali model. For example, Giblin (1995) demonstrated various reactions of fear by the general public against PWAs: people didn't want to sit with PWAs or use utensils of PWAs, morticians refused to embalm the bodies of PWAs, and doctors began wearing masks to treat PWAs or refused to treat them altogether. All of these reactions have also been noted in Nepal.¹³ Likewise, Flynn and Lound (1995) demonstrate how the early model in America (AIDS as a "gay" disease) was created by the media, and how those infected were branded as "bad people" (1995:14). Flynn and Lound also discuss the various rumors that PWAs were deliberately infecting others (1995:14), a product of the extreme fear associated with the disease. I have previously described similar events in Nepal.

Anyone familiar with AIDS research in any given country might recognize, in the findings of this research, themes common with those expressed elsewhere in the world. It seems that there are some universals associated with AIDS around the world. For instance, the association of

AIDS with "bad people" and blame. Regarding this association Sontag (1988:59) has written, "any important disease whose causality is murky, and for which treatment is ineffective, tends to be awash in significance...first the subjects of deepest dread (corruption, decay, pollution, weakness) are identified with the disease." And regarding blame Sontag (1988:101) suggests that "it seems that societies need to have one illness which becomes identified with evil, and attaches blame to its victims." Regarding the association between STDs and strange beliefs of contagion, Sontag (1988:112) has written, "Infectious disease to which sexual fault is attached always inspires fears of easy contagion and bizarre fantasies of transmission by non-venereal means in public places." Likewise, Sabatier (1989) has suggested that blame and prejudice are common associations made with STDs worldwide. He concluded that "the process of attributing blame does not always require evidence, and tends to focus on people who are not considered 'normal' by the majority, especially on minorities or foreigners" (1989:66).

Janet McGrath (1991) has proposed that all cultures exhibit universal responses to epidemic disease. She suggests that if an epidemic is evaluated as acute, then direct actions such as flight or extraordinary preventative measures, such as quarantine and isolation, are implemented as common adaptive strategies. If an epidemic is perceived as non-acute, then indirect action such as ostracizing and scapegoating of those who are considered at risk or resignation toward the disease (fatalism) are displayed as common responses. McGrath suggests that these responses are common themes throughout the history of epidemic disease. Further, she suggests that these responses are mostly biologically adaptive.¹⁴ Interestingly, in Nepal, both direct action (quarantine and isolation— i.e. *chichi durdur*) and indirect action (scapegoating— i.e. strong blame of prostitutes [those who are *randi*]) are common responses toward those with AIDS.

As an interesting sideline, although McGrath doesn't mention "schema" by name, she acknowledges that a process similar to the schematization process described in this dissertation underlies the production of these common responses to epidemic disease. For example, she suggests that the first response to epidemic disease "is based on a familiar response derived from previous experience" (1991:408). This is akin to the idea that schemata serve as a kind of template (created from past experience) that functions to make meaning of new events that are perceived to be similar. She suggests that "behavioral responses begin with 'normal practice.' That is, the earliest

responses to epidemics are those that have been used successfully in response to other crises" (1991:409). McGrath's proposal of the application of "familiar responses" (1991:412) in order to control epidemic disease implies the application of underlying biologically based schemata. This would certainly help to explain, at least in part, the *chichi durdur* (separation), *sarawa* (transmittable disease) and *randi* (promiscuity) schemata that have been so easily associated with AIDS in Nepal.

The striking similarity between various cultural models of HIV/AIDS might be, in part, a result of the application of various universal schemata that produce the universal similarities noted. These universal schemata, in turn, play a part in the social construction of meaning associated with HIV/AIDS as they are embedded as fundamental elements of particular cultural models of HIV/AIDS. For instance, I propose that in Nepal, biologically based schemata are embedded in higher level schemata, such as the *sarawa* schema, and these schemata are, in turn, embedded in higher level schemata (cultural models).

Other such universal schemata might be 1) a "sexually transmitted disease" schema that posits the possibility for strange methods of transference as noted above, and 2) a "survival" schema. It seems that some sort of basic survival schema exists that causes us, when a disease is understood as fatal and infectious, to act in a way that would assure maximal safety. This would explain in part, the "fatal trump card" idea spoken of earlier as well as the doctors' preferences to act on the conclusions of their cultural model rather than their biomedical knowledge. According to Flynn and Lound (1995:55), many irrational fears and actions of people toward AIDS are a result of the fear of AIDS, which in turn, is a result of the fatal nature of the disease.

In regards to the process of application of schemata in the making of meaning associated with HIV/AIDS in France, Herzlich and Pierret (1989:1241) have written:

As an instance of this, let us examine the likening of AIDS to cancer, the plague, syphilis, and leprosy. Such comparisons give rise to what can be called a system of second degree metaphors. AIDS was associated successfully or simultaneously, with all of these diseases, each of which had served as a metaphor at a certain epoch. Although AIDS condensed all of these into a single metaphor, it would during

its construction, tend to be most likened to the oldest of them, the disease most distant from and strangest to us. Although the first articles in 1981-1982 mainly compared it to cancer, the prototype of 'modern' illnesses, it would then be likened to diseases—usually the plague—that have vanished in the West. In fact, the comparison was more frequently made with the plague than syphilis, a disease more like it and closer to us... AIDS, as stated, has been the subject of a discourse about the 'other,' who is as far as possible from ourselves, as foreign and strange as possible. This discourse works by repeatedly making a cleavage between one's self and others. This is not new: foreigners have always been accused of bringing epidemics.

Although based in the specifics of the French cultural model, we see the explanation for the application of various schemata associated with AIDS. We see other illnesses used schematically as a prototype to understand AIDS, and we see, in part, the explanation behind the application of AIDS as a foreign disease and its association with marginalized groups (e.g. those we consider strangest). Although my proposal, that underlying biological schemata inform higher level schemata and, therefore, ultimately cultural models, does not answer all of the questions, I hope that it does shed some light on the connection between cultural and biological phenomenon in the creation of a cultural model of HIV/AIDS in Nepal.

Notes

1. The National AIDS and STD Control Centre reports that although the number of Nepal's HIV/AIDS infected remains "low" (1,807) it could be much higher given the poor testing facilities. The Centre warns that although only 142 people are known to have succumbed to HIV/AIDS so far in Nepal, there is every possibility that the problem could be worse since there is no way of knowing how far the infection has penetrated the hinterland.
2. This information comes from a list titled "NGO list at working HIV/AIDS/STD" that I obtained from the HIV/AIDS Training Unit of the United Mission to Nepal.
3. The leading campaign slogan "condom *lagau* AIDS *bagau*" (lets wear condoms and chase away AIDS) employs a Western war schema (*bagau*

is what you do to enemies, thieves and dogs), a schema not usually associated with illness in Nepal. The war schema is employed heavily in western cognitive models of illness (e.g. *fighting* a cold, *battling* illness, my *defenses* are down, etc.).

4. Prior to interviews with doctors and NGO workers two different studies were conducted in tandem in order to discover the various meanings attributed to HIV/AIDS by various groups in Nepal. In the first study (using a cognitive anthropological approach), the research on HIV/AIDS was conducted within the larger context of a examination of cultural models of all illness and the schema which underlie these cultural models. Thus, many of the schemata identified within the HIV/AIDS context are wider illness schemata as well.
5. The "eating" schema is another foundational schemata identified during the research (see Beine 2000b).
6. The second study conducted was a narrative analysis project (discourse analysis) that studied the narratives of 30 PWAs living in Kathmandu (Beine 2000b).
7. In my estimation Patan Hospital offers the best care to PWAs available in the whole country. This was also the place of choice among PWAs to be seen. They felt more compassion is given to them at Patan Hospital. This was a rare incident at Patan, but I use it to illustrate that if this kind of practice is taking place at the best hospital, one can only imagine what is happening in other places.
8. HIV cannot be transmitted through exposure to anything (including feces, urine, sweat, etc.) that would be left behind by an AIDS patient, therefore, fumigation of a patient's bed or room would be medically unwarranted (Bhattarai 1999:22).
9. This story made the headlines in several magazines and newspapers as well as in the leading English daily newspaper. In a follow-up investigation, however, no basis was found for the rumors. Interestingly, the local movie hall owners accused the local video storeowners of instigating the rumor in order to increase their profits at the expense of the local movie hall owners.
10. The Valley/Nation section (local news) which is usually only one page, is filled with the numbers of fatalities from the latest cholera epidemic, various bus accident fatalities, and numbers of Maoist guerillas killed by the police in recent attacks. I affectionately refer to this page of the

newspaper as the "death" page. Again, it is no wonder that AIDS is perceived by the general public as fatal.

11. Interestingly, in both countries, AIDS is most closely linked with tuberculosis. Farmer quotes one informant as saying, "tuberculosis and SIDA (the local and French, term for AIDS) resemble each other greatly. They say that TB is SIDA's little brother, because you see them together." I also heard this same analogy used in Nepal. The common association is probably due to the fact that TB is the most common opportunistic infection that affects PWAs in these two countries.
12. It is also possible that the attribution of multiple causation to disease is universal. Sontag (1988) has demonstrated how disease in the Iliad and Odyssey is attributed both to supernatural punishment and natural causes.
13. One NGO director told me that when they have taken bodies to be cremated at the local temple, they are often refused or charged double once the priests learn that the person was a PWA. And one of the leading doctors treating PWAs in Nepal told me that once he discovers a person is HIV positive he will wear a mask or only speak through a glass window.
14. McGrath demonstrates that although these responses are believed to be biologically adaptive, under certain conditions they have led to social disintegration.

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MIGRATION AND SPREAD OF HIV/AIDS: A VIEW FROM MEDICAL GEOGRAPHY

Pashupati Nepal

"A Physician can't understand the essence of disease unless he is a geographer too." –Paracelus

Introduction

Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was first recognized in 1981. Strictly speaking, the term AIDS refers only to the last stage of the HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) infection. Within a short span of time, AIDS spread rapidly and currently affected individuals in over 168 countries on all the continents of the world. In Nepal, as elsewhere, the AIDS problem is growing.

Migration is a geographical phenomena that seems to be a human necessity in every age. Migration may be permanent or temporary. Man has a tendency to leave the areas in which life is difficult, he migrates to the areas where life may be easier and better. Migrants may suffer from new infection agents with them from their origin place and introduce them into their place of destination. Thus, with the movement of the people, diseases of various types also move from place to place. There exist certain recognizable foci of disease. The movement of the people helps to spread faster of these diseases. Sometimes, the physical contact of the people belonging to two different racial or ethnic backgrounds may change the biological characteristics of the people. For instance, greater interaction between the people of Africa and that of Americans and Europeans has affected the racial characteristics of these people. Consequently, some of the diseases like AIDS, which were inoffensive formerly, have become now deadly (Husain 1994: 138-139).

The study of geography of diseases is essential to understanding and revealing a true picture of diseases patterns as they are today. The mechanism, which causes the growth and variation of the diseases within a

spatial unit, has recently drawn the attention of geographers. In fact, such variations are primarily governed by the socio-economic and behavioural factors, the aspects of which are mostly neglected by medical scientists. To emphasize these aspects we have to go into the field of medical geography, which focuses its attention towards the preventive aspects of diseases. This is particularly true for the current epidemic HIV/AIDS. It is because treatment of HIV/AIDS merely temporarily extends lives of the victims, and hope for a vaccine against infection remains remote. There is only way to take prevention from the suffering of this disease. We agree with the statement of several epidemiologists: in this disease "geography is destiny, it is not just what you do, but where you do it". The statement rigidly focuses our attention towards the essential knowledge of geography to identify the factors of spreading HIV/AIDS in a realistic way. In this way, migration mainly being a geographical phenomena and AIDS as a preventive type of diseases till now, the tool of medical geography can definitely serve us in this regard in comparison to other any discipline. The encyclopaedic meaning of Medical Geography, "as the study dealing with the geographic arrangement of diseases and with the factors relevant to the incidence and spread of diseases" justifies the relevancy of this discipline for the study of such diseases like HIV/AIDS. However, the present study attempts to analyse the migration and spread of HIV/AIDS in the context of world as well as Nepal. It also makes efforts to present the pattern and trend of HIV/AIDS in global and Nepalese context simultaneously.

The Concept

The term 'migration' is used broadly here to refer to any form of population mobility. We know that germs and epidemics travel only as fast as people do. Human beings have always been mobile, colonizing every corner of the planet. People travel for all kinds of reasons: business, pleasure, fleeing from political persecution, seeking a better life, etc. People's mobility tends to follow opportunities, taking place more frequently from rural to urban areas; from poorer to richer countries. But the direction does not necessarily follow the same way. Migrants, who do well in the big city, or in America, will go back to their home villages bringing tales of good life and, sometimes new diseases.

HIV thrives on mobile populations, not just because it has human carriers but also because mobile populations are often in situations that make them more vulnerable to HIV. Cut off from their families and social support systems, the mobile person may engage in unprotected casual or commercial sex or pick up an injecting drug habit.

Coupled with certain human behaviour, population movements are often seen as important factors in disease emergence. An infectious disease may occur in isolated populations and go unnoticed for a long time while the recipients remain isolated. But with increasing movements of people from rural to urban areas, the isolation becomes rare. The same pattern has been theorised regarding the spread of HIV/AIDS. After its first move from a rural area to a city, it may have spread regionally along highways then by long-distance routes, including air travel, to more distant places. The last step of critical for HIV and facilitated today's global epidemic (Ybanez, 1998: 4)

The acceptance of mobility as an independent risk factor and the prevalent view that HIV/AIDS is a 'foreign diseases' have put migrant workers at the center of blame for the introduction or spread of HIV/AIDS. Both the countries where the migrants go and from where they migrate often look at migrant workers as either "Carriers" of HIV and other diseases or the cause of their spread (Ibid). This attitude reflects a lack of understanding of the situation of migrant workers. Examining the factors in migration will show that the migrant workers are not the problem. Rather, it is the realities in the migration process that works and makes them more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS.

The Global Context of HIV/AIDS

An Update: Table 1 given below provides the global summary of the HIV/AIDS epidemic:

Table 1: Global Summary of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. November 2000

Particular	In Million			
	Adults	Women	Children < 15 years	Total
People Newly infected with HIV in 2000	4.7	2.2	0.6	5.3
Number of people living with HIV/AIDS	34.7	16.4	1.4	36.1
AIDS Death in 2000	2.5	1.3	0.5	3.0
Total Number of AIDS deaths (Since the beginning of the epidemic)	17.5	9.0	4.3	21.8

Source: UNAIDS/WHO, Press Release 28 November 2000.

The table depicts the fact that about 36 million persons (34.7 million adults and 1.4 million children < 15 years) in the world are infected by HIV/AIDS as estimated in 2000. Of this, about 16.4 million are females.

Likewise, the people newly infected with HIV in 2000 is 5.3 million of which about half of the total (about 2.2 million) shared by female population. The same table indicates the fact that since the beginning of the epidemic the total number of AIDS deaths constitutes 21.8 Million, of which about 9 million shared by females. The total death by AIDS in 2000 is utmost high (about 3 million). This figure helps us to imagine the catastrophic picture of HIV/AIDS in future.

Migration and Spread of HIV/AIDS: An Interlink: Historically, in developing and developed countries alike, migration has been a major way in which diseases have spread. Communicable diseases usually spread farther and faster as roads and transportation improve. The pattern of spread follows major highways and passes through international airports and seaports.

The more people move the faster AIDS, and like other diseases it can spread. Mobility itself has been considered an independent risk factor for HIV infection. Actually, the spread of HIV often coincides with migration patterns.

Usually, HIV appears first in urban areas and then diffuses to rural areas along major road networks. In Cote d'Ivoire (sub-Saharan Africa), for example, HIV/AIDS has spread outward from the capital city Abidjan, where almost half of the population are immigrants from surrounding countries.

AIDS has spread along transportation routes from Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique to South Africa and along the Mombassa highway from the Indian Ocean to the former Zaire.

Many people who move frequently have a high risk of HIV infection, including truck drivers and other transportation workers, sex workers and seasonal agricultural workers and other temporary migrants. For example, among 400 West Bengal long distance truck drivers surveyed, more than 60% reported having visited sex workers, 36% had never heard of AIDS, and only 22% were regular users of condoms (Johns Hopkins School of Public Health 1996: 11).

Many sex workers move from place to place, whatever voluntarily or involuntarily, for example, women from Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam work in brothels in Thailand. Sex workers from Thailand and Philippines work in Japan. Thai women become sex workers in Singapore, and Nepalese women work in India, where 35% or more of sex workers are infected with HIV.

Male migrants who go to sex workers infected with HIV can transmit the virus to their wives or other female partners when they do not use condoms. Refugee movements have also contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Nearly 2 million refugees who had fled in the 1980 to Malawi, which has high HIV rate, returned home to Mozambique, the incidence of HIV began rising in Mozambique, where it was previously rare (Ibid 10-11).

The Nepalese Context

In Nepal, the topography, environmental degradation, poverty and economic migration are all linked, and they combine to increase vulnerability to HIV. More than 80 percent of the rural population has traditionally worked at small agricultural plots, created local crafts and/or been hired out locally for wages. But a combination of forces has been undermining rural self-sufficiency. Most of this population has little or no cash income and lives in absolute poverty. The population of Nepal is growing by 2.1 percent per year. From the perspective of the land's ability to support a population all of Nepal can be considered heavily populated. In more fertile areas, particularly the Terai, much of the land is controlled by relatively few land lords.

In response to their economy, increasing numbers of villagers (predominantly men but often women and sometimes whole families) are migrating in search of work. In some areas, growing numbers of women and

girls choose or are trafficked into full or particular sex-work to generate income. Many Nepalese seeking paid-work turn toward India, with which Nepal maintains an open border and where a major AIDS epidemic has developed over the past ten years. Some 800,000 migrant labours and thousands of Nepali transportation workers regularly cross into India and back and an estimated 100,000 to 200,000 Nepali girls and women are reported to be working in the sex industry in India (Hannum 1997: 33-34).

Nepal reported its first case of HIV/AIDS in July 1988. An increasing trend is being seen in the number of reported HIV/AIDS cases though with fluctuations. This section of the study, primarily focuses the pattern, trend and geographical distribution of HIV/AIDS in Nepal and then, an analysis of migration and HIV/AIDS interlink will be provided in reference to Nepal.

Pattern and Trend: Table 2 indicates that there is an alarming increase in the number of reported HIV/AIDS cases over the years though fluctuations are observed. There have been about seventy nine-fold increase in the number of cases between ten years (1990 to 2000) from 5 to 396 cases. The male to female ratio is 1: 2.37 on an average (i.e., males have more than doubled the HIV ratio than the females).

The data provided by National Centre for AIDS and STD Control (NCASC) in 31 January, 2001, reveals the fact that there are 1807 persons HIV positive including AIDS in total, of which 1271 persons are males and 536 persons females. There are 458 persons with AIDS infection (out of total HIV) in total, of which 303 persons are males and 155 persons females.

Table 2: Year wise detection of HIV/AIDS infection cases by sex in Nepal (1988-2000)

Year	Total Sample tested	HIV Infection			Ratio of HIV+ to those tested
		Male	Female	Total	
1988	9016	3	1	4	0.04%
1989	5180		2	2	0.04%
1990	8619	2	3	5	0.06%
1991	17000	12	14	26	0.15%
1992	33995	39	38	77	0.23%
1993	38228	41	40	81	0.21%
1994	16523	8	22	40	0.24%
1995	21867	71	39	110	0.50%
1996	10457	50	85	135	1.29%
1997	9475	394	95	489	5.16%
1998	3611	166	54	220	6.09%
1999	5170	174	48	222	4.29%
2000	3039	301	95	396	13.03%
Total	182180	1271	536	1807	0.99%

Source: National Centre for AIDS And STD Control, Kathmandu, Nepal, Jan. 2001

Table 3: Cumulative HIV Infection by Sub-Group and Sex

Sub-groups	Male	Female	Total
Sex Workers (SW)	-	413	413
Clients of SWs/STD	1213	34	1247
Housewives	-	124	124
Blood Transfusion/Transplant	2	1	3
Injecting rug use	215	1	216
Perinatal transmission	12	9	21
Total	1442	582	2024

Source: National Centre for AIDS And STD Control, Kathmandu, Nepal, Jan. 2001

Table 4: Cumulative HIV Infection by Age group

Age group	Male	Female	Total
0-5 Years	11	7	18
6-13 Years	3	-	3
14-19 Years	68	143	211
20-29 Years	817	304	1121
30-39 Years	441	106	547
40-49 Years	86	19	105
50-Above Years	16	3	19
Total	1442	582	2024

Source: National Centre for AIDS And STD Control, Kathmandu, Nepal, Jan. 2001

Table 3 indicates that the most frequent means of transmission of HIV/AIDS in Nepal is heterosexual contact (clients of SWs/STD) followed by sex workers (SW).

Table 4 depicts the fact that persons having 20-29 years are predominantly infected by HIV in Nepal followed by 30-39 years group. The male has outnumbered the female in all age group in HIV infection except in 14-19 years age group (male 68 persons and female 143 persons).

Geographical Distribution: Unfortunately, there is no reliable information to cover the geographical distribution of HIV/AIDS in Nepal and so far no scientific surveys have been made in this regard. In this study development regions and number of districts depending upon available information will attempt to show geographical distribution of HIV/AIDS in Nepal.

Nepal is divided into five development regions for political and administrative purposes: East, Central, West, Mid-West and Far West. The following are the summary of these regions with reported HIV infection over the last decade:

**Table 5: Number of district with HIV infected persons
by region over years**

Region/District	Up to July-1992	Aug-1992 July-1994	Aug-1994 July-1996	Aug-1996 July-1998
Eastern	4	5	9	16
Central	13	14	14	19
Western	5	8	12	15
Mid-West	1	2	6	10
Far-West	0	1	2	6
Total	23	30	43	66

Source: Suvedi, Journal of the institute of Medicine, 1999: 138.

Table 5 indicates the fact the number of districts with reported HIV/AIDS is increasing over the years. By the end of the July 1998, almost all the districts of Eastern, Central and Western regions have had HIV/AIDS cases. However, some districts in the mid-west and far-west regions of the country are yet to report HIV/AIDS cases. The information provided regarding the HIV/AIDS status till July 1992 shows that 23 districts of the country were affected by HIV/AIDS. Till July 1994 it spread into 30 districts and there has been continuous spread of HIV/AIDS 66 districts till July 1998. The table also indicates that the HIV infection has spread almost everywhere in the country. Initially the spread seems to affect the central region of the country followed by western and eastern regions and lately by mid-west and far-west regions of Nepal (Table 5).

So far a list of major risk sites of HIV/AIDS in Nepal by districts has been set up by the National Aids Prevention and control programme with a view to formulate its programmes for the coming days. It is as follows:

- | | | |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 1. Nuwakot | 2. Sindhupalchowk | Kailali |
| 4. Dang | 5. Rupandhi | 6. Kanchanpur |
| 7. Mogang | 8. Sunsari | 9. Kaski, and |
| 10. Banke | | |

Almost all these districts are also considered as the major girl trafficking areas of Nepal. Surprisingly, a number of other suspicious districts such as Kavrepalanchowk, Rasuwa, Dhading, Kathmandu, Makawanpur etc. have not

been included. It is to be expected that most of the districts of Tarai are becoming the next risk-sites of HIV/AIDS in Nepal. Almost all urban centres of Nepal are also coming in the grip of this epidemic. Besides, some places especially the tourist centres of Himalayan region have also been affected by HIV/AIDS.

Interlinks between Migration and Spread of HIV/AIDS in Nepal

Mobility itself has been considered an independent risk factor for HIV infection. Actually, the spread of HIV often coincides with migration patterns. The spread of HIV in the country is not entirely 'internal' but in a majority of cases the sources are 'external'. The acceptance of mobility as an independent risk factor and the prevalent view that HIV/AIDS is a 'foreign disease' have put migrant workers at the center of blame for the introduction and spread of HIV/AIDS. There is no authentic data and information in order to analyse the migration and spread of HIV/AIDS in Nepal. Hence, the present study attempts to analyse it in terms of some descriptive base.

Three major routes of HIV transmission have been generally identified as follows:

1. Sexual Transmission
2. Blood Transmission
3. Mother to fetus/infant Transmission

Sexual transmission is the major source of the spread of the virus in most of Africa and Asia, including Nepal. When studying the risk behaviour for the spread of the epidemic in Nepal, it is seen that most of the risk groups fall under this category.

"Trafficking" of young village girls to prostitution centres particularly in India, where they are infected with HIV-once infected or ill, most of these girls return to Nepal. Even if only 5% of the 9000 HIV infected girls have made their way back to Nepal (this is a minimum estimate given that the authorities in India return all Nepali girls identified as having HIV infection) there are at the moment 450 HIV infected India-returned girls in Nepal. And if we assume that only 10% of them are continuing their trade here, there are at least 45 HIV infected girls selling sex for living, and in turn infecting many.

Many migrant labourers stop at the Badi establishments (traditional prostitutes of Nepal) on their way to and from work in India. The migrant labourers could well be a source of infection to the Badis. When that happens, the Badi traditional prostitutes would become a source for rapid spread of HIV/AIDS infection especially in western Nepal.

It is found that 'local girls' of the Kathmandu valley who attend schools and colleges earn side income by selling sex. Many of these girls serve the hotels as call girls and are exposed to non-local diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Likewise the 'non-local girls' or 'migrant girls' those come from the surrounding hills and generally work in garment factory sell their sex in order to supplement their income and become vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. It has been playing a vital role for spreading HIV/AIDS in both places of origin (while they return to home) and destination (while they migrate to work).

Temporary or seasonal migration of rural youths to urban centres within Nepal and abroad (especially in India and Thailand) for employment and study where they are more likely to engage in 'high risk' behaviours such as visiting commercial sex workers have also played a dominant role for spreading HIV/AIDS in Nepal.

The number of migrant workers in India is as much a subject of speculation as is the number of Nepali girls in the brothels of India. There are thousands of Nepalese in India, some living there permanently, and others working seasonally. The estimated number of Nepalese in the Indian army and other security jobs is more than one and half lakhs. An estimate of Nepalese migrating seasonally to Indian towns is about three lakhs. The number of long term migrants in India is said to number in the millions. Data from the Statistical Year Book shows that the number of people migrating for work outside of Nepal are predominantly those from the hills of Western region.

The migrant labourers usually go alone, leaving behind families for months and sometimes for years. Young newly married men have the highest rate of migration, doing hard work in India, away from their spouses. Most of single male migrant workers are known to actively seek sexual pleasures in brothels. Nepali migrants seem to find more comfort with Nepali prostitutes. In such a way, they come into contact of HIV/AIDS infection and when they return to Nepal help to spread it by continuously exposing to other population.

Transport workers particularly the truck drivers enjoy considerable prestige in both Nepal and India and earn high salaries supplemented by

independent hauling contracts. High percentage of truck drivers patronizes sex workers at stops along the major highways and at their final destinations. A NESCORD survey found that 55 percent to 64 percent of long distance-drivers reported visiting sex workers while away from home. Bus driver's risk behaviour may be similar to that of truckers, but they are on tighter schedules and have less opportunity to stop en route.

When the direct air links were established between Nepal and South- East Asia in the 1970s middle and upper class Nepali men have used stopovers to experience the pleasure of the flesh in Bangkok. While this process continues over the last decade, there has also been a dramatic increase in the number of Nepalese who travel as 'traders' or 'porters'. These are mostly single men who travel to South-East Asia and back. The majority of the young males visit prostitutes particularly in Bangkok. There is not much awareness of AIDS transmission among this group, which is young, sexually active and can be thought to be a major factor of spreading HIV to the Nepalese population. Though the intensity of HIV risk of Nepalese 'traders' is utmost high in Bangkok but this does not mean that they have no risk in other countries of the world. For example, the traders who travel to Dhaka and Hongkong also have equal possibilities of HIV risk.

The tourist industries of Nepal have also played a vital role for spreading HIV/AIDS in Nepal. The tourists coming from western countries have a higher prevalence of AIDS. The infected visitors would infect other Nepalese or tourists who come in physical contact with them. Today, perhaps infection is being transmitted from tourists to Nepalese. Very soon, when enough Nepalese in the travel trade are infected tourists are going to be discouraged from coming to Nepal for fear of AIDS by which time it will be too late to act.

Refugees have also contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Nepal to some extent. Not less than one lakh Bhutanese refugees have been settled in Jhapa district of Nepal. Some of young refugees are believed to engage as commercial sex workers to fulfill their economic needs.

Conclusion

Studies of the geography of disease (or geographical pathology) are one of the important dimensions of medical geography. By studying the distribution of disease in different populations we gain perspective on the significant variations in disease patterns not only between countries but also within

countries. The study of spatial diffusion (or spread) of diseases has had a long history within geography. The spread of disease through a biological population is seen as a spatial process, particular attention has been paid to the form of the epidemic wave, to its spread and intensity, and to the geographical pathways it follows. Medical geography has recently emerged as one of the most significant branches of geography that is interested to study the interrelationships between humans, the environment and the disease in a spatial-locational association. Undoubtedly, there exists an interrelationship between migration and the spread of diseases. This is particularly true for the current pandemic (affecting both industrialized and developing countries) of the AIDS that knows no geographic, social, racial or cultural boundaries. Migration mainly being a geographical phenomena and in this HIV/AIDS disease geography is destiny, geographers can do better to search for factors behind the incidence and spread of HIV/AIDS disease and follow preventive measures using the tools of medical geography.

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श्री ५ राजेन्द्रको काशी पलायन र अलौ पर्व

मोहनप्रसाद खनाल

कोतको भयंकर हत्याकाण्डले पनि महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मीको रक्तपिपासा शान्त भएको थिएन । आफ्नो इप्सित अभिलाषा पूरागर्न भरखरै सत्तामा ल्याइएका जङ्गवहादुरद्वारा युवराज सुरेन्द्र र उपेन्द्रको वध गराई रणेन्द्र विक्रमलाई राजा बनाउने षडयन्त्रमा राज्यलक्ष्मी प्रयत्नरत थिइन् । तर जङ्गवहादुर कुंवरले सुरेन्द्र विक्रमको सट्टा रणेन्द्र विक्रमलाई राजा बनाउन अस्वीकार गरेपछि महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मी जङ्गवहादुरदेखि सशंकित एवं क्रुद्ध हुन पुगिन् । अब जङ्गवहादुरबाट आफ्नो कार्य सफल नहुने मात्र हैन कि आफूप्रति नै खतरा हुने संभावना भएको हुँदा उनलाई सदाका लागि पन्छाउने योजनामा राज्यलक्ष्मी लागिन् । काजी वीरध्वज वस्नेत, सर्दार दलमर्दन थापा, कप्तान उजीर सिंह खवास र विजयराज पाँडे आदि केही भारादारहरू यस काममा संलग्न थिए । परन्तु चतुर जङ्गवहादुरले शुरूदेखि नै पण्डित विजयराज पाँडेलालाई आफ्नो पक्षमा मिलाइसकेका हुँदा महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मीसंग भएका गुप्त मन्त्रणाहरूको सूचना जङ्गवहादुरलाई वरावर प्राप्त हुने गर्दथ्यो । विक्रम संवत् १९०३ साल कार्तिक शुक्ल द्वादशी शनिश्चरवारका दिन हनूमान् ढोकाको भण्डार खालमा जङ्गवहादुर सहित उनका अनुयायीहरूलाई सिध्याउने पूरा वन्दोवस्त गरियो । भण्डारखालको वगैचामा एउटा विशेष भोजको आयोजना गरी त्यही नै जङ्गवहादुरको इतिश्री गर्ने कार्यक्रम थियो । तर विजयराज पाँडेद्वारा समयमा नै षडयन्त्रको पूरा विवरण पाएपछि आफ्ना सबै विरोधीहरूलाई समाप्त गर्न जङ्गवहादुर सफल भए । भण्डारखाल पर्वमा संलग्न वीरध्वज वस्नेत सहित बाह्रजना भारादारहरू काटिए भने काजी रणवीर राना, कप्तान उजीर सिंह, सर्दार रणभद्र, सर्दार सर्वजीत र सर्दार वखतसिंह वस्न्यात आदिले भागेर ज्यान जोगाएका थिए^१ ।

भण्डारखालको नरसंहारलाई लिएर तत्काल नै जङ्गवहादुरले हनूमान्ढोका दरवारमा ठूलो भारादारी गराए । जसमा जङ्गी (निजामती थरघर आदि) सबै भाइ भारादारहरूको उपस्थिति थियो । कोत र भण्डारखालको हत्याकाण्ड गराउनाका साथै युवराज सुरेन्द्रविक्रमलाई मारी आफ्ना छोरा रणेन्द्रविक्रमलाई राजा बनाउने षडयन्त्र गरेको अभियोगमा महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मी देवी सबै कुराबाट दोषी सावित भइन् । तसर्थ श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रमका साथै युवराज सुरेन्द्रविक्रमको उपस्थितिमा भारदारीको सर्वसम्मतिले कान्छी महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मी देवीलाई शक्तिच्युत गरी देशनिकाला गर्नु उपयुक्त हुने ठहर सहितको

फैसला गन्यो^१ । तत्पश्चात् १९०३ साल मार्गकृष्ण पञ्चमी आइतवारका दिन श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रमबाट महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मीमा निहित रहेको सम्पूर्ण अधिकारका साथै राज्य सञ्चालन गर्नका लागि चाहिने विशेषाधिकारको लालमोहर युवराज सुरेन्द्रविक्रमलाई प्राप्त भयो^२ ।

देशनिकालाको दण्ड पाएपछि राज्यलक्ष्मी देवी राजदरबार छाडेर मिश्र गुरुज्यूको घरमा बस्न गईन्^३ । त्यहाँ पनि जङ्गबहादुरको कडा निगरानी थियो । महारानीलाई दोषी साबित गरी सबै राज्याधिकार युवराज सुरेन्द्रविक्रमलाई सुम्पेको भोलिपल्ट अर्थात् १९०३ साल मार्ग कृष्ण षष्ठी सोमवार राजा राजेन्द्रविक्रम राज्यलक्ष्मीसँगै काशी जाने उद्देश्यले दरबार छाडी मखनटोलस्थित एकदेव वैद्यको घरमा बस्नपुगे^४ । सोही दिन महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मी पनि मिश्र गुरुज्यूका घरबाट माहिला गुरुज्यूका घरमा सरिन्^५ । यसप्रकार श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम, राजकुमार रणेन्द्र तथा वीरेन्द्र पनि महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मीका साथ काशी जानका लागि तयार भए । यात्राका लागि चाहिने आवश्यक खर्च र सरसामानका साथै सुरक्षाका लागि छ रेजिमेन्ट सेना तैनाथ गरिए । यसका अतिरिक्त जङ्गबहादुरका विश्वासपात्र काजी करवीर खत्री, काजी हेमदल थापा, कप्तान खड्गबहादुर कुंवर, कप्तान धीरबहादुर कुंवर र सुब्बा सिद्धिमान सिंह राजभण्डारी आदि विशेष निगरानीका लागि खटिनुका अतिरिक्त काशी जाने यस लावा लस्करका साथमा एकजना अंग्रेज अफिसरको पनि उपस्थिति थियो ।

संवत् १९०३ साल मार्गशुक्ल षष्ठी मंगलवारका दिन पाले पहरा सहित ३०० अङ्गरक्षकका साथ श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहले राजधानीबाट बनारसका लागि प्रस्थान गरे^६ । विहानको साइतमा हात्ती, घोडा, पाल्की, पाल र आवश्यक सरसामानका साथ सैनिकहरूले सुसज्जित महारानी एवं राजकुमारहरू सहित राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहको सवारी त्यसदिन फर्पिङ पुग्यो^७ । यसको भोलिपल्ट चीसापानी र पर्सिपल्ट मकवानपुरमा बास बसी पाँचौदिन अर्थात् मार्गशुक्ल त्रयोदशी आइतवारका दिन विसौलिया हुँदै यसको भोलिपल्ट सोमवार वरेवा कचहरी आइपुग्यो^८ । यात्राभरि नै राजा र रानीका लागी सुत्ने पालहरूको भने छुट्टाछुट्टै व्यवस्था गरिएको थियो तापनि सधैंजसो विहान वेलुका राजेन्द्रविक्रम राज्यलक्ष्मीको पालमा २/३ घण्टासम्म समय बिताउने गर्दथे^९ । यसभन्दावाहेक राजाले अन्य कसैसँग पनि एकान्त गर्न नपाउन् भन्ने हेतुले भारदारहरूलाई श्री ५ को पालसँगै सुत्नू, एकलै नछाड्नु र त्यहाँको एक एक विवरण लेखेर पठाउनु भन्ने जङ्गबहादुरको निर्देशन थियो । तर पनि भारदारहरूले राजाको पालसँगै सुत्ने आँटभने गर्न सकेका थिएनन्^{१०} । उता सीमानापार बसेका जङ्गबहादुरका विरोधीहरू भने श्री ५ राजेन्द्रको काशी आगमनको खबरले राजासँग भेटगर्ने प्रतीक्षामा आतुर देखिन्थे^{११} ।

१९०३ साल मार्गशुक्ल पूर्णिमा अर्थात् धान्यपूर्णिमाको पर्व पारेर रौतहट स्थित वरेवानदीको तीरमा श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम बाट तोलादान भयो^{१२} । यस उपलक्ष्यमा त्यस भेगका शाही नातेदार अर्थात् नानी साहेबका साथै राजाका आफन्तहरूको पनि उपस्थिति थियो । वर्तमान अवस्थालाई बुझेर नानी साहेबले अहिलेको परिस्थितिमा काशी जानु

उचित नहुने सल्लाह दिएपछि द्विविधामा परेका श्री ५ राजेन्द्रले खड्गबहादुर कुंवरहरूसँग पनि यस बारेमा विचार विमर्श गरी काशी नजाने पो हो कि भन्ने आशय प्रकट गरेथे^{१५} । तर केही आफन्तहरूसँगको मन्त्रणापछि राजा राजेन्द्रविक्रमले पुनः काशी जाने नै निर्णय लिएका हुँदा यसको भोलिपल्ट अर्थात् पौष कृष्णप्रतिपदा बृहस्पतिवारका दिन वरेवाबाट कचरीयातर्फ रवाना भए ।

यसैबीच महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मीको शंकास्पद चरित्र र अन्य केही व्यक्तिहरूको व्यवहारदेखि सशंकित भएका राजा राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहले जङ्गबहादुरलाई सुरेन्द्रविक्रमबाट निम्न व्यहोराको लालमोहर गराई पठाइदिए भनी पत्र लेखेथे । विशेष गरेर महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मीको षोपीमा जाँदा संगी लिएर मात्र जानू, महारानीका लागी वार्षिक ५००। आमदानी हुने जग्गामा म काशीबाट नफकदै दरबार बनाई बस्ने व्यवस्था गरिदिनुका साथै १२ जना विद्रोहीहरूले मृत्युदण्ड पाएका व्यहोरा लाठका नाउँमा षलीताको लालमोहरका अतिरिक्त बागीहरू तथा उनका आफन्तहरूले पनि भुषवटमा र रानीका इर्दगिर्दमा नरहुन् भन्ने व्यहोराका अतिरिक्त वर्षको १५ हज्जार सम्म आमदानी हुने राम्रो जग्गामा राज्यलक्ष्मीलाई स्थायी रूपमा बसो बासो गर्ने व्यवस्था गर्नका लागि राजेन्द्रविक्रमले विशेष जोड दिई जङ्गबहादुरलाई पत्र पठाएथे ।

माथि उल्लेखित व्यहोराका लालमोहर आफूले नेपालको सरहद नछाड्दै आई पुगोस् भन्ने पनि उनको आशय थियो । तर चतुर जङ्गबहादुरले पौषकृष्ण एकादशी सोमवारका दिन माथि उल्लेखित पत्रहरूका बारेमा लेखिसकेपछि अब म सर्वाधिकार संपन्न छु, मलाई श्री ५ सुरेन्द्रविक्रम, श्री ५ महारानी, र श्री माहिला राजकुमार सहित भएर "...तैले हाम्रा गाथ गादि ढुंगाको सोभो गन्याको छस् . अब उप्रांत पनि तैले हाम्रा गाथ गादि ढुंगाको सोभो गरंजेल सम्म तँलाई षोसमोस नगर्नु तेरा जीयधन हर्ना पछि पनि नलागूनु, जंगी निजामति परपजनी पनि विंति पारि संवत् १९०४ सालमा वुवाज्यूका र मेरा हुकुमले जो पजनी गरेस् सो थामि वक्सौला भन्त्या व्यहोराको श्री धर्म पत्रको लालमोहर गरि वक्सन्छु तैले पनि अब उप्रान्त हाम्रा गाथ गादिको सोमो चिताई काम गरूला भन्त्या विहोराको श्री धर्म पत्र लेषि हाम्रा हजुरमा चह्ला भनि ... श्री ५ सरकार वाट हुकुम हुंदा मैले लेषि चह्लाउन्त्या मैले चह्लाजा श्री ५ सरकार वाट पनि मलाई वक्सनु भयो सोही वेहोरा श्री धर्म पत्रका व्यहोराका सवै कागजका नक्कल चह्लाइ पठायाका छन् . इनै नकलले सवै विहोरा जाहेर होला . यो सवै गरायाको तैले होला भन्त्या हजुरका चित्तमा पर्न जाला यो कुरा मैले विंति गरि गरायाको होइन हुकुम हुंदा हुन गयाको हो" . भनी वडो कूटनैतिक ढङ्गले राजेन्द्रविक्रमका सवै पत्रहरूको जवाफ दिएथे^{१६} ।

तोलादानको पर्सिपल्ट सखारै वरेवा कचहरीबाट हिंडेको यो दलले कचौरीया हुँदै औरैह्या स्थित हुलास गिरीको मठमा पुगेर विश्राम लियो । त्यहाँ औरैह्याका महन्तले अंग्रेज लगायत हात्ती, घोडा सहित राजा रानीका लावालस्करलाई ससन्मान खाने पिउनेको उचित व्यवस्था गरेका थिए^{१६} । महन्तको आतिथ्य ग्रहण पछि राजेन्द्रविक्रम कटरवनका लागि रवाना भए । यसको पर्सिपल्ट अर्थात् १९०३ साल पौषकृष्ण पञ्चमी मंगलवारका दिन ८

घडि ३२ पलाको साईतमा नेपालसरहद पार गरी भारत प्रवेश गरे । राजेन्द्रविक्रमको काशी आगमनको सूचना पहिले नै प्राप्त भएको हुँदा इष्टइण्डिया कम्पनीका तर्फबाट कुवाडिमा डेरा दण्डाको राम्रो प्रबन्ध गरी दिएको थियो^{१७} । संभवतः राजेन्द्रविक्रमसंग इष्टइण्डिया कम्पनीका तर्फबाट स्थानीय मेजिस्ट्रेटले भेट गर्ने कार्यक्रमको साथै सरसौगातको आदान प्रदानको रिवाज त्यही नै पूरा गरिने तय भएको थियो तापनि काठमाडौँबाट आउनुपर्ने सामानहरू सबै आइनपुगेकाले त्यसको प्रतीक्षामा अरू केही दिन कुवाडिमा बसी श्री ५ राजेन्द्रको सवारी नारायणी हुँदै छपरा पुग्यो । छपरामा स्थानीय प्रशासनले राजेन्द्रको बसाइ र यात्राका लागि विशेष व्यवस्था गर्‍यो । जिल्लाको सिमानादेखि नै बाजा गाजाकासाथ एक टुक्डी रिसल्ला सवारी चलाउनाका लागि तैनाथ थिए । नेपाल नरेशको स्वागतका लागि नगरको प्रवेश द्वारसम्म त्यहाँका जज र मेजिस्ट्रेट आदिको पनि उपस्थिति थियो^{१८} ।

कुवाडिदेखि नै जङ्गबहादुरका विरोधीहरू राजेन्द्रविक्रमको संपर्कमा आउन थालिसकेका थिए । जसले गर्दा खड्गबहादुर कुंवर आदि भारादारहरूको निगरानी भन् भन् सशक्त हुनथाल्यो । अब राजालाई जो कोहीसँग पनि विशेष कुरा गर्नु त्यति सजिलो थिएन । तसर्थ राजेन्द्रविक्रमलाई छपरा पुगेपछि आफ्नो सवारी चलाउन आएका एकजना अंग्रेज अफिसर संग-संगैको पालकीमा बसी बाटाभरि एकान्त गर्दै हिँड्नुपरेथ्यो^{१९} । यसपछि भने राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहको निर्वासित भारादारहरूसँग भेट्ने क्रममा अरू तीव्रता आउन थाल्यो । यसै क्रममा गोरखपुरमा बसेका प्रभु शाहलाई पनि वनारसमा भेटगर्न आऊ भनी बोलावटको पत्र गएको थियो^{२०} ।

संवत् १९०३ साल पौष शुक्लषष्ठी बृहस्पतिवारका दिन छपराबाट राजेन्द्रविक्रमले वनारसका लागि प्रस्थान गरे । यसवेला सम्ममा श्री ५ राजेन्द्र र प्रधानमन्त्री जङ्गबहादुरका विचको खाडल भन्भन् गहिरो र चौडा हुँदै गइरहेको थियो । तसर्थ राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाह महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मी र चौतरीया गुरुप्रसाद शाह आदि निर्वासित भारादारहरूको सल्लाह बमोजिम अन्य पुराना बागीहरूलाई समेत प्रभावमा पारी जङ्गबहादुरलाई सिध्याउने योजनामा संलग्न हुन पुगे । यसै सिलसिलामा उदयबहादुर र सम्शेरबहादुर पाँडेलालाई, माथवरसिंह थापा लगायतका भारादारसहित "तेरा बाबु वीरकेशर पाँडेलालाई मार्ने पनि जङ्गबहादुर नै हो तसर्थ म मुडको वदला मुड बक्सौला" तं डराउनुपर्दैन भनी राजेन्द्रविक्रमले खातिरदारीको पञ्जा-पत्र गरी आफ्नो पक्षमा मिलाएका थिए^{२१} ।

लगभग तीन महिनाको वनारस बसाइपछि आफ्ना विशेष सहयोगीहरूको परामर्शमा श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम महारानी राज्यलक्ष्मीलाई पनि पुनः दरबारमा भित्र्याउने उद्देश्य लिएर नेपाल फर्कने तरखरमा लागे । संवत् १९०३ साल चैत्र ७ गते बृहस्पतिवार दिनको १६ घडि १५ पलाको साईतमा वनारसबाट प्रस्थान गरी चैत्रशुक्ल नवमी अर्थात् रामनवमीका दिन दरबार प्रवेश गर्नेछु तसर्थ कान्छा बडामहारानीलाई जसरी हुन्छ त्यही साईतमा नेपाल फर्काउने कामगर भनी जीवनाथ शर्मालाई राजेन्द्रविक्रमले पत्र लेखेथे^{२२} । परन्तु राजेन्द्रविक्रमको यो अभियान पनि सफल हुन सकेन । निर्वासित भारादार र श्री ५ राजेन्द्रका बीच भएका सरसल्लाह र योजनाका एक एक सूचना खड्गबहादुरहरू द्वारा

प्राप्त भैरहेकाले राजेन्द्रविक्रम कुन उद्देश्य लिएर नेपाल फर्कदैछन् भन्ने कुरा पनि जङ्गबहादुरबाट छिपेको थिएन । तसर्थ रामनवमीका दिन हनूमान्ढोका प्रवेश गर्ने श्री ५ राजेन्द्रको यो योजना पनि असफल रह्यो र उनी सुगौलीमै रोकिन बाध्य भए ।

आफ्ना सारा कार्यक्रम र योजना विफल भएपछि राजेन्द्रविक्रम निकै आत्तिए । स्थितिलाई सामान्य पार्ने विचारले हामी दुईका बीचमा फाटो ल्याउने उद्देश्यले कसैले केही कुरा सुनाए पनि नपत्याउनु । मैले तँलाई केही भनेको छैन र भन्ने पनि छैन । तर भगुवाहरूले र श्री ५ कान्छा बडामहारानीले तेरा विरुद्धमा जतिकुरा मसँग गरेका छन् ती सबै म त्यहाँ आएपछि तेरा सामुन्यमा निरूपण गर्नेछु भनी सुगौलीबाट राजेन्द्रविक्रमले चैत्रशुक्ल पूर्णिमाका दिन जङ्गबहादुरलाई पत्र लेखेथे^{२३} ।

राजेन्द्रविक्रम नेपाल नपुग्दै वीचैमा रोकिएको खवरले बागी भारादारहरू सुगौलीमा जम्माहुन थाले । यी विद्रोहीहरूमध्ये विशेष गरेर शाह, पाँडे, थापा एवं वस्नेतहरू नै मुख्य थिए र पुराना दरवारिया हुँदा यिनीहरू प्रति राजेन्द्रविक्रम विशेष आशावादी पनि थिए । अब जङ्गबहादुरलाई सिध्याउनु सिवाय अर्को विकल्प नभएको ठहर गरी यसको उचित व्यवस्था गर्न चौतरिया गुरुप्रसाद शाह, काजी जगताराम पाँडे र रघुनाथ पण्डित आदि नियुक्त गरिए । यसमा राजेन्द्रविक्रमलाई गोपालपुरका राजाको पनि नैतिक समर्थन प्राप्त थियो^{२४} । यो योजना सफल भएमा गुरुप्रसाद शाहलाई प्रधानमन्त्री, जगताराम पाँडेलालाई कम्प्यान्डर इन्चीफ र रघुनाथ पण्डितलाई बडागुरुजुको पदमा आसीन गराउन राजेन्द्रविक्रम तयार थिए । तर जङ्गबहादुरलाई नपन्छाई कुनै पनि कार्य फल्य गर्न नसकिने भएकाले उसको वध गर्नु नितान्त आवश्यक थियो । यसै कुरालाई दृष्टिगत गरी आफ्ना विश्वस्त तीन सैनिकलाई भरिएको पिस्तोल सहित जङ्गबहादुरलाई जहाँ भेटे पनि मार्नु भन्ने लालमोहर गरी गोप्य रूपले काठमाडौं पठाइयो^{२५} । जङ्गबहादुरको हत्या गर्ने उद्देश्यले गुप्त भेषमा आएका उक्त सैनिकहरू किलागल स्थित एकजना उदासको घरमा लुकेर बसी अनुकुल समयको प्रतीक्षा गर्दै थिए । परन्तु जङ्गबहादुरका गुप्तचरहरूले शंकाका लागि उनीहरूको जीउ खानतलासी गर्दा लालमोहरसहित पिस्तोल वरामद भयो^{२६} । तत्पश्चात् तिनीहरूलाई श्री ५ सुरेन्द्रविक्रमसमक्ष उपस्थित गराई केरकार गर्दा षड्यन्त्रको सारा भेद खुल्यो । षड्यन्त्रको पर्दाफास भएपछि जङ्गबहादुरले विगुल फुक्न लगाई भाइ-भारादार लगायत संपूर्ण कर्मचारीलाई टुडिखेलमा सामेल हुने आदेश दिए । उपस्थित भद्रभलाद्मी सहित जङ्गी तथा निजामती कर्मचारीका समक्ष राजेन्द्रविक्रमलाई अयोग्य घोषित गरी वर्तमान युवराजाधिराज सुरेन्द्रविक्रमशाह आजदेखि नेपालअधिराज्यको श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज भएको घोषणा गरे । सेनाले जङ्गबहादुरको घोषणालाई सहर्ष स्वीकार गरी श्री ५ सुरेन्द्रको जय जयकार गर्‍यो । अतः तत्कालै राज्याभिषेकको तयारी भयो र सोही दिन अर्थात् संवत् १९०४ साल अधिक ज्येष्ठकृष्ण त्रयोदशी बुधवार राती करीव साढे आठ बजेको शुभ-मुहूर्तमा विधिपूर्वक सुरेन्द्रविक्रमको राज्याभिषेक गरियो । जङ्गी, निजामती र भाइ भारादारहरूले दाम राखी श्री ५ को दर्शन गरे । भारादारहरूले दोसल्ला सहित मान र खिलत पाउँदा जङ्गबहादुरले सन्तान दरसन्तान सम्मका लागि खोस मोस नहुने गरी सर्वाधिकार

सम्पन्न मुख्तियारीको लालमोहर पाए^{२७} । यसको भोलि पल्ट अर्थात् १९०४ साल अधिक जेष्ठकृष्ण चतुर्दशी बृहस्पतिवारका दिन ३७० जना भाइ-भारादार र अफिसरहरूको हस्ताक्षर सहितको पत्र ब्रिटिस लिगेसन मार्फत् इष्टइण्डिया कम्पनीका गभर्नर जनरलका नाउमा पठाउने काम भयो^{२८} । त्यसपछि अघिल्लो दिन पत्रिका बागीहरूलाई शहर घुमाई विष्णुमती पारी खरीको रूखमा लगी दुईजनालाई भुण्ड्याउनाको साथै एकजना ब्राह्मणलाई जात पतित गर्दा किलागल स्थित उदासले पनि घर सर्वस्वको दण्ड भोग्नु परेको थियो^{२९} ।

आफूलाई सत्ताच्युत गरी सुरेन्द्रविक्रमलाई गद्दीआरोहण गराएको खबरले राजेन्द्रविक्रम अत्यन्त क्रुद्ध भए । यस घटनाबाट आगो भएका राजेन्द्रविक्रमले वर्तमान सरकार विरुद्ध हतियार उठाउने निश्चय गरी सैनिक संगठनको तयारीमा लागे । अब राजेन्द्रविक्रमबाट अरू बढी गडबडी उठ्न सक्ने सम्भावनालाई दृष्टिगत गरी जङ्गबहादुरले ब्रिटिस रेजिडेण्ट मार्फत ईष्टइण्डिया कम्पनीका प्रदाधिकारी लाई नेपाल सरकार विरुद्ध कुनै षडयन्त्र हुन नदिन आग्रह गर्दै राजेन्द्रविक्रम संगका भारादार तथा सैनिकहरूलाई क्रमशः फिर्ता बोलाउने तरखरमा लागे । यसै सिलसिलामा सर्दार करवीर खत्री, कप्तान खड्गबहादुर कुंवर तथा कप्तान धीरबहादुर कुंवर आदिलाई मोतिहारीका स्थानीय प्रशासकसंग सरसल्लाह गरी तिमीहरू आउ र आफू आउदा चोपदार, वहिदार र दुवाडि आदि लाई सीमाना सम्म फकाएर ल्याई कैद गर्नु भन्ने लालमोहर गरी पठाएथे । उता जङ्गबहादुरको अनुरोधमा मोतिहारीका प्रशासक फिलिप्सले गोपालपुरका राजाका अतिरिक्त नेपालका निर्वासित भारादारहरूलाई नेपाल सरकार विरुद्ध कुनै कदम नचाल्नु भनी राजेन्द्रविक्रमलाई पनि संझाउने प्रयत्न गरेका थिए^{३०} ।

अब सैनिकहरूलाई विस्तारै विस्तार फिर्ता बोलाउने उद्देश्यले रणप्रिय पल्टनका जवानहरूलाई पर्काउन संवत् १९०४ जेष्ठकृष्ण द्वादशी मंगलवारका दिन "उप्रान्त ...१... पल्टनको पट्टी तांहां व्येकाम छ भन्या सुनीयो तसर्थ त्यो पट्टीको तांहां काम छैन भन्या आहा पठाई दिन्याकाम गर..." भनी कप्तान खड्गबहादुरलाई निर्देशन दिंदै जङ्गबहादुरले पत्र लेखेका थिए^{३१} । यसको साथ-साथै त्यहाँ रहेका ३०० मध्ये २०० जवानले तुरुन्त फिर्ता आउनु भन्ने लालमोहरका साथै कम्याण्डर इनचीफ बाट समेत बोलावटको पत्र आएकोले भरसक सेनाहरूलाई त्यही नै थाम्न राजेन्द्रविक्रम प्रयत्नरत थिए^{३२} । त्यसैले १९०४ द्वितीय जेष्ठकृष्ण द्वादशी बृहस्पतिवारका दिन जङ्गबहादुरलाई पत्र लेखी आफूसंगका सैनिकहरूलाई फिर्ता नबोलाउन अनुरोध गरे तापनि उनी सफल हुन सकेनन्^{३३} ।

बनारसको प्रवासकालदेखि नै राजेन्द्रले जङ्गबहादुरको इतिश्री गर्ने उद्देश्य लिएर भैरवनाथमा तान्त्रिक विधिले पुरश्चरण गरी त्यहाँका राजा रजौटाहरूसँग संपर्क गर्ने एउटा अभियान नै चलाएथे । राजेन्द्रविक्रमको पटक पटकका यस्ता क्रियाकलापले गर्दा जङ्गबहादुरलाई भन् भन् ऊर्जा प्राप्त हुंदै जान थाल्यो । जसले गर्दा सैनिकलगायत सर्वसाधारणको समेत सहानुभूति लिनुका अतिरिक्त अब राजेन्द्रलाई पञ्छाउन जङ्गबहादुरका लागि अनुकूल वातावरण बन्दै गयो । कतैबाट पनि सफलता हात नलागेपछि राजेन्द्रविक्रम किंकर्तव्य-विमूढ जस्तै भएर गाली गलौज र मारपिटमा समेत उत्रन

थाले^{३४} । यसै प्रसंगमा १९०४ साल आषाढवदि ५ शनिश्चर बारका दिन श्री ५ राजेन्द्रले "आगे जङ्गबहादुर कुंवर प्रति तैले जाहारह्याका सिपाहिहरूलाई चोरिगरि डाकि पठायाको चिठि राति तेरो दसकत् पठायाको दिइगयेछ र अब देषि जार नहान्नु भनि जङ्गबहादुर कुंवरले पल्टन्मा उर्दि सुनाया भनि जस्का हातमा तेरो छाप लाग्याको चिठि चिसापानिमा रहन्या वटुकदलका सिपाहिले दिकन यति कुरा सुनाइ रातिमै भागि गएछ. जाहां रहन्यां जुनचाही मानिसका हातमा तेरा चिठि पैल्हे पन्याथ्यो उसैले सब वृतान्त मेरा हजुरमा षसो षास विन्ति गन्यो. वौलाहा षत्रिकि स्वास्नि तैले विगाण्याको सत्र पल्टन् कंपुलाइ थाहैछ...." भनी यस प्रकार पत्र लेखी जङ्गबहादुरको तेजोवध गर्ने प्रयास गरेथे । यसको जवाफमा जङ्गबहादुरले पनि संवत् १९०४ साल आषाढ शुक्ल पञ्चमी शनिश्चरबारका दिन तिमी कस्ता हौ, तिमिले केगर्न बाँकी राखेका छौ र के पो गर्न सक्छौ भन्ने आशयको पत्र लेखी अब आयन्दादेखि मलाई पत्र नलेख्नु भन्ने राजाबाट हुकुम भएको छ भन्दै राजेन्द्रविक्रमको दर्प मर्दन गर्ने हेतुले कडा पत्र लेखेर पठाएका थिए^{३५} ।

आफ्ना सबै योजना असफल भएपछि अब विस्तारै विस्तार कटरवन, जलेश्वर र सिंधुली हुंदै हिउँद लागेपछि राजधानी फर्कने मनस्थिति लिएका राजेन्द्रविक्रमले आषाढकृष्ण प्रतिपदा मंगलबारका दिन सुगौलीबाट नेपालका लागि प्रस्थान गरे^{३६} । चौतरिया गुरुप्रसाद शाह आदि निर्वासित भारादारहरूले तयार गरेको योजना र सैनिकहरूको विशेष व्यवस्था देखेपछि राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाह निकै उत्साहित भए । तत्पश्चात् अब जङ्गबहादुरलाई सिध्याउन सकिन्छ भन्ने आँट लिएर अलौ भन्ने ठाउँमा शिविर राखी वर्तमान सरकार विरुद्ध आक्रमण गर्ने निधोमा पुगेर त्यही नै बसे । केही दिनभित्रमा नै लगभग तीन हजार विद्रोही सेना सङ्गठित भैसके भन्ने खबर पाउनासाथै जङ्गबहादुरले शाहज्यादा उपेन्द्र विक्रमको नेतृत्वमा कप्तान सनकसिंहले हाँकेको गोरखनाथ पल्टन र जनरल बमबहादुरका मातहतमा पाँच रेजिमेण्ट सेना त्यसतर्फ पठाए^{३७} । मकवानपुर हुंदै विसौलिया पुगेर पहिले देखि नै अलौमा धावा बोल्ने तयारीमा बसेका सनकसिंह उपयुक्त समयको प्रतीक्षामा थिए । बमबहादुरको आगमनको सूचना पाउना साथै संवत् १९०४ साल आषाढ शुक्ल पूर्णिमा अर्थात् श्रावण १४ गते विहान चारवजे तिर सनकसिंहको मातहतमा आएका गोरखनाथ पल्टनले अलौ स्थित राजेन्द्रविक्रमको किल्लामा एककासि आक्रमण गन्यो । सुतिरहेको अवस्थामा अकस्मात् आक्रमण हुंदा शिविरमा हाहाकार भई भागदौड मच्चियो । तर पनि आक्रमणकारीहरूसँग राजेन्द्रका सेनाले एकछिन भए पनि डटेर युद्ध गरे । आखिर केही शीप नलागेपछि चौतरीया गुरुप्रसाद शाह, पण्डित रघुनाथ आदि केही भारादारहरू आ-आफ्नो ज्यान जोगाउन कुलेलम ठोकी सीमापार पुग्दा अलौस्थित शिविर पूरै ध्वस्त भयो । अब आफ्नो बूताले नभ्याउने देखेपछि हात्तीमा चढी भाग्ने तरखरमा लागेका राजेन्द्रविक्रमलाई पनि सेनाले पत्तेर आफ्नो कब्जामा लियो । तत्पश्चात् बन्दी बनाईएका राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहलाई मियानामा राखी सेना सहित कप्तान सनकसिंह काठमाडौंका लागि प्रस्थान भए । यसरी यो आक्रमणमा सैनिक र गैह्र-सैनिक

समेत गरी लगभग तीनसय मानिसको ज्यान जानुका साथै नाटकीय ढङ्गबाट राजेन्द्रविक्रमको पतन हुंदा कोतपर्वको पनि पूर्णाहुति भयो^{३८} ।

परिशिष्ट

(संख्या १)

कप्तान षड्गबहादुर कुंवरले जङ्गबहादुरलाई लेखेको पत्र

श्री ५ महाराजा

१

श्री ५ महारानी

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स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा ज्योग्यत्यादि सकलगुणगरिष्ट राज भारोद्धारण समर्थ श्री प्रायम मिनिष्टर यान कम्याण्डर इनचिफ जनरल जङ्गबहादुर कुंवरका चरणतल इत श्री कप्तान षड्ग बहादुर कुंवर. श्री कप्तान धीरबहादुर कुंवरको कोटि कोटि दण्डवत्सेवा सतम् पूर्वक पत्रमिदं इतनिक तांहां पाव कुसल आनन्द रहय हामरो उद्धारण होला. आगे जांहांको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त ...१... का गाथमा आराम छ. अरूकुराको अर्थलाई जति तहांवाट सवारिमा षटाइ वक्सनु भयाका भारादार हुन ताहावाट अह्राइ वक्सनु भयाको मलाइ ...१... का जाहा सुकला हुन्छ उस जगामा सवैलाइ सुताउनु भनी आज्ञा भयाको हो. मैले कति भन्दा पनि सुत्न्या भयेनन्. औ अघिल्ला पालाका जति भाग्याका साहिं पांडेहरू सिवाना देषि २ कोस पर वस्याका छन भन्छन्. ...१... को सवारि हेर्नालाई मानिस पठाउदैछन्. कैले जांहां पाल्नु होला र दर्शन गरौला भन्दछन् गरे ...१... का तोलादान वरेवा कचहरिमा हुन्छ. तसै ठाउमा ३ दिं मुकाम हुंछु भनि हुकुम हुंछ. तांहांवाट कुच भै घुसवट् पावलागुनु हुंछ. घुसवटमा मुकाम कति दिन हुंछ थाहा छैन. ...१... भन्या ...२... का हजूरमा सांस विहान ४।५ घडि ...३... सधै हुन्छ. एउटा २ नाल्या वंदुक जनरल सित मागि पठा भनी हुकुम भयाको छ. ...१... को २ नाल्या वंदुक पठाइ दिनु हवस्. हामी २ भाइका उपर तांहांको भन्दा ...१... को बहुत मेहरमानि छ. याहा काहातक लेषौ सर अप्सर माफ भया जावस्. ताहांको हालषवर अर्ति सिक्षा पठाउदै गर्नु भया वढीया होला. ईति सम्बत् १९०३ साल मिति मार्ग शुदि १४ रोज २ मुकाम विसौलिया देषि कुच शुभ- - -

खाममा:- स्वस्ति श्री प्रायम मिनिष्टर यान् कम्याण्डर इन्चीफ जनरल दाज्यैज्यु जङ्गबहादुर कुंवरका चरणतल कांतिपुर पत्र पहुंचै शुभम् - - -

सं. १९०३ सा. पौषवदि ५ रोज २ दा.

(संख्या २)

कप्तान खड्गबहादुर कुँवर आदिले जङ्गबहादुर लाई लेखेकोपत्र

श्री ५ महाराज

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श्री कासि

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श्री नानी साहेव

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स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमाज्योग्यत्यादि सकलगुणगरिष्ट राजभारोद्धारण सामर्थ श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यान कम्याण्डर इनचिफ जनरल दाज्यैज्यू जङ्गबहादुर कुँवरका चरणतलेषु इत श्री कप्तान खड्गबहादुर कुँवर श्री कप्तान धीरबहादुर कुँवरको कोटी कोटी दण्डवत्सेवा सतम् पूर्वक पत्रमिदं इतनिक तहां पाव कुसल आनन्द भया हामरो प्रतिपालन उद्धार होला आगे जांहांको समाचार भलोछ. उप्रान्त मार्ग शुदि १० रोज ७ मा लेषि पठाउनु भयाको शिक्षापत्र ऐ शुदि १४ का दिन आइपुग्यो. हेरि विस्तार मालुम भयो जो लेषि पठाउनु भयाको शिक्षा बहुत वढियाहो. हातिको कुरालाई जांहां देषि ३ कोष पर रहेछ. सुब्बा रत्नमानलाई भनी पठाउन्या काम गरौला. अरूकुराको अर्थ लाइ ...१... का गाथमा आराम छ. पूर्णमासिका दिन तोला दान पनि भयो ...१...को मनसुवा भन्या कैले ...२... जान्छु कैले जान भनि हुकुम हुंछ. ठेगाना छैन. ठेगाना भयापछि सो माफिक विंती गरि पठाउला जांहां वरेवा कचहरिमा ...३... संग भेट भयो र ...३... वाट हजुरमा ...२... पाउ लाग्नु नहवस. पाउ लाग्नु भयो भन्या अगरेजले छेकन्या छ भनि विंति पार्दा उसै वेलादेषि ...१... का गाथमा दुभिदा भै रहेछ. म संग जान्या होकि नजान्या हो भनि सोधनी भयाथ्यो. मैले र श्री जनरल दाजैवाट हजुरमा जो विंति पार्नु भयाको हो सो माफिक गरि वक्सनु भया वढिया होला भनि विंति गन्या. याहां कहातक् लेषुं. टाडा भै रहयछु टाडा भया त पनि मेहरवानि रहोस्. इति सम्बत् १९०३ साल मिति पौष वदि १ रोज ५ मुकाम वरेवा कचहरि देषि कूच शुभम्- - -

फड्केमा:- जांहां मैले गर्नु पर्न्या काजकामलाइ यो पाठसित कामगर्नु भनी आग्या भै आया सो माफिक काम गरूला.

(संख्या ३)

जङ्गबहादुरका नामको अर्जि

श्री ५ सरकार

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श्री ५ कांछा बडामहारानी

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स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा ज्योग्येत्यादि सकलगुणगरिष्ट राजभारोद्धारण सामर्थ श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यान कम्याण्डर इनचिफ जनरल दाज्यैज्यू जङ्गबहादुर कुवरका चरणतल इत कप्तान षड्गबहादुर श्री कप्तान धिरबहादुर कुवरको कोटि कोटि दण्डवत्सेवा सतम पूर्वक पत्र मिदं इत निक ताहां पावकुसल आनन्द भया हामरो प्रतिपालन उद्धार होला. आगे आंहाको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त पौष वदि २ रोज ६ मा कचौरिया वाट हिडि औरैहय हुलास गिरिका मठ डेरा भयो. औरैहयका महन्तले ...१... लगायत् सवै लस्कर अंगरेज समेत हाति घोडालाई रसत पानि सवै जाफत् पुन्याया. आंहाको डेरा कटरवना पन्या छ. कटरवना २ दिन मुकाम गरि हाल कुवाडि जान्या तवर छ. रजिडंट साहेव सितको मुलाकात पनि तहि हुन्या डवल छ. दिन्या लिन्या तर्तोफा अधि पनि विंति गरि पठायाको हो. अरु संम आइ पुग्याको छैन. आहां चाहिन्या चीज अधि पनी विंती गरि पठायाको हो. सो वमोजिम तागिति राषि चांडो गरि पठाइ वक्सनु भया कामको अंजाम गर्दा हुं. वाकि ल्याइते ...१... मा विंति चहाइ पठायाका लाठ साहेव आया देषि मैले कहा सम्म लिन जानु कहा सम्मको षतीर गर्नु भया अर्थलाई हामीले ...१...मा विंति पार्दा तपाईंले लाठ साहेव आया भन्या थांकोट संम आउनु भाइहरूमा हेटौडा संम पठाउनु तर तांहा रजिडंट साहेव छन्. उनसित सोधनि राषि आफ्ना तजविजमा ठहराई कामको अंजाम गर्नु. भनि ...१... वाट हुकुम भै लेषि चहाइ पठायाको छ ...२... को जगा तहां षरिद भयाको येति जगाको येति रूपैआ भन्या तपसिल वाट लेषि पठाउनु भन्या ...१... को हुकुम भयाको छ. त्यो कागज चहाइ पठाउनु हवस ...१... वाट तागिति हुंदा हामिले लेषि पठायाको छ. वाकि जो गुज्रला लेषि चहाइ पठाउन्या काम गर्न्यै छौं. अरू कुराको अर्थलाई तहाको भंदा ...१... वाट वडो मेहमार्नि छ. मधेस पुग्या पछि कौन तर्हको मेहर मान्नी होला सो माफिक लेषि चहाइ पठाउन्या काम गरौंला. याहा कहातक विंति लेषुं सरअप्सर माफ भया जावस. इति संवत् १९०३ साल मिति पौष वदि २ रोज ६ मुकाम औरैहय देषि कुच शुभम्- - -

खाममा:- स्वस्ति श्रीश्रीश्री प्रायम मिनिष्टर यान कम्याण्डर इनचिफ् जनरल दाज्यैज्यू जङ्गबहादुर कुवरका चरणतल कांतिपुर पत्र पहुंचै शुभम्- - -

सं १९०३ सा पौष वदी ८ रोज ६ दा.

(संख्या ४)

श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहले जङ्गबहादुरलाई लेखेको पत्र

श्री काशी

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श्री ५ नानीमहाराजाधिराज

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श्री ५ वडा कांछारानि

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स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराज चक्रचूडामणि नरनारनयणेत्यादि विविध विरूदावली विराजमान मानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजा धिराज श्रीश्रीश्री महाराज राजेन्द्र विक्रम साह वहादुर सम्सेर जङ्ग देवानां सदासमर विजयिनाम- - -

स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा योग्य प्राइम् मिनिष्टर यान् कम्यान्डर इन्चिफ जनरल जङ्गबहादुर कुवरके आसिक पुर्वक पत्रमिदम् इहा कुसल तांहा कुसल चाहिये आगे यहाको समाचार भलो छ . उप्रान्त कटहरवना मुकाम वाट उठि ८ घडि ३२ पला दिन चढदा सायेत्माफिक अंग्रेजि मुलुक हाल कुवाडि मुकाममा आइपुगी आहि रहयको छु ...१... स्नान गरी चांडो फिन्या काम होला भन्या जस्तो लाग्याको थियो. तर केहि दिन ढिल होला कि भन्या जस्तो लाग्द छ पछि जोजो होला लेषि पठाउन्या काम गरिएला मेरा बाहुलि वाट लेषियाका मसौदाको कागत् अघि तं छेउ पठायाको हो. आज सम्म तेस्को जवाव किन पठाइनस्. चांडोगरि पठाउन्या कामगर. वांकि हाम्रा ...२... का जगाका अर्थ र ...३... का चिठिमा सवै विस्तार लेषि पठायाको छ. तेसैले विस्तार बुनि सो माफिक गरि पठाइ दिन्या काम गर. इति सम्बत् १९०३ साल मिति पौष वदि ६ रोज ४ हाल कुवाडि शुभम्- - -

(संख्या ५)

जङ्गबहादुरलाई लेखेको पत्र

श्री नारायणि

विंतीपत्र.....

उप्रान्तवाट अंतरटेकि छपरामा आइपुग्यौ आहां आइपुग्याका दिन डेरै देषि साथ आउन्य रेसालाको साहेवलाई पनी पाल्कि दी जोडै पाल्कि मिलाइ निरालाभै साहेवसंग वात्चित्गर्दै डेरै सम्म पाउलागनु भयो कुरा कहानि भयाको भन्या यस्तै हो भन्या केहि थाहा पाइयेन आहां जज् मजिष्टर साहेव पनि सदरका किनारा सम्म इस्तक्वाल्लाई आइ पैरफियत् सोधि डेरासम्म पुन्याइ वन्दोवस्त गरि विदाभै गया आहांका लोग दुनियांहरू पातसाहि वाजा सुन्दा वहुतै षुसिभया गोरषपुरमा प्रभुसाहालाई वनारसमा आइपुगनु भन्या बोलाहट्को लालमोहर लेषि जांछ अतपर जो गुजरला लेषि चहाइ पठाउन्या काम गरूला

विज्ञप्ति इति सम्बत् १९०३ साल मिति पौष सुदि ५ रोज ४ मुकाम छपरा भोली चली चलाउ शुभम्.....

खाममा:- स्वस्ति श्री ३ प्राइम् मिनिष्टर यान कम्यान्डर इनचिफ जनरल जङ्गबहादुर कुवर ज्यूकैषु विंतीपत्र कांतीपूर पहुचै. शुभम्
सं १९०३ साल पौष शुदि १४ रोज ५ दा.

(संख्या ६)^{३९}

श्री ५ राजेन्द्रको पञ्जापत्र

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराज चक्र चूडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविध विरूदावली विराजमान मानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्री महाराज राजेन्द्रविक्रम साह बहादुर सम्सेरजङ्गदेवानां सदासमर विजयिनाम्.....

आगे श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर यान कम्यान्डर इनचीफ जनरल माथवर सिंह थापालाई मान्या पनि जनरल जङ्गबहादुर हो पछि कोतमा भैयाद श्री फत्यजङ्गसाह. काजी दलभंजन पांडे लाई मान्यापनि त्यहि हो त्यसै हुलमुलमा तेरा बाबु कपर्दार वीरकेशर पांडेलाई मान्या पनि जनरल जङ्गबहादुरै हो. हामी...१४.... सरकारको वित्यास पान्या पनि त्यहिहो. हाम्राहजुरमा आई कर्णेल रणउज्वल सिंह थापाले विन्तिगोचर गर्दा यो कुराको निरोपण र मुडको मुड वदला वक्सुला भनि उदै बहादुर शंसेर बहादुर पांडेलाई खातिर दारीको र अभयको पञ्जा गरी वक्स्यौ इति सम्बत् १९०३ साल मिति फागुन वदि ५ रोज २ शुभम्

(संख्या ७)

श्री ५ राजेन्द्रलाई जीवनाथ शर्माको पत्र

श्री विन्धवासिनी

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श्री काशी

१

श्री ५ वडा कान्छा महारानी

२

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराजचक्रचूडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविध विरूदावली विराजमानमानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजा धिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री महाराज राजेन्द्र विक्रम शाह बहादुर सम्सेरजङ्ग देवेषु सदासमर विजयिषु.

जीवनाथ शर्मण शुभाशीर्वाद पूर्वकम् पत्रमिदम्. हजुरका पुण्यप्रतापले इहां कुशल छ. तहां हजुरको गात सदा सर्वदा कुशल रहय प्रतिपालन होला. आगे इहांको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त चैत्रवदि ६ रोज ५ का दिन पठाइ वक्सनु भयाको लालामोहर चैत्र वदि

३० रोज ३ कादिन आइपुग्यो. हुकुम सिरचढाइ अर्थ विस्तार विदित गरि मनमा वडो आल्हाद भयो. हाम्रा को चैत्रका ७ दिन जांदा वृहस्पति वारका दिन १६ घडि १५ पला जांदामा ...१... वाट कर्नौल तरफ आउन्त्या साएत ठहर्न्याको छ. सायतको पूर्जि पनि का चिठिमा षामी वक्सि पठायाको छ. तसर्थ..... कर्नौल तरफ आउन्त्या सायत गरि प्रस्थान गर्न्या भन्त्या षवर तहांवाट आउनी वित्तिकै उहि सायत गरि म सरासर नेपाल गै चैत्र शुदि ९ रोज गुरू पुण्यका दिन दर्वारमा प्रवेश गर्न्या सायत ठहरियाको छ. तेसै सायतमा म दर्वार मा अवश्य प्रवेश गरि वक्सन्त्या छु. तांहावाट पनि लाइ हजूर वाट कर्नौल तरफ पाउलागी वक्सनु भया सवतरहले वढिया हुन्त्या छ. इहां राजगर्नु कदाचित वढिया छैन भन्त्या पाठ संग बहुत तरहले समभाउन्त्या काम गर्नु भै तेहि साइतमा सवर्धा ताहा वाट चलाउन्त्या काम गरि दिनु भया वढिया होला. भनि हुकुम भै आएछ ...२... का हजूरमा अस्ति सोमवारका ४।५ घडि दिन वांकी रहदामा सवारी भै नाउको वाटो ...३... को दर्शन निमित्त पाउ लाग्नु भयाको छ. नवरात्र उही राज गर्नु हुंछ भन्त्या सुनिंछ. उता वाट फिरि वक्सनु हुनि वित्तिकै हजूर वाट हुकुम भया माफिकका सव कुरा ...२... का हजूरमा विन्तिगरि जो भयाको विस्तार हजूरमा विन्तिगरि पठाउन्त्या कामविज्ञ प्रभुषु किमधिकम् मिति इति सम्बत् १९०३ साल मिति चैत्र सुदि ३ रोज ६ शुभम्.....

(संख्या ८)

जङ्गबहादुरलाई श्री ५ राजेन्द्रको पत्र

श्री ५ वडा कांछा रानी

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स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराजचक्रचूडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविध विरूदावली विराजमानमानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजा धिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री महाराज राजेन्द्र विक्रम शाहबहादुर सम्सेरजङ्ग देवानाम् सदासमर विजयिनाम्.....

आगे वनारसमा जांदा र फर्कदामा जति भगुवाहरूसंग भेट हुंदामा उनीहछले म संग कुरा गन्याको छ तती कुरा मेरा ...३... ले भुसवटवाट वनारस संम मेरापाउ रषवारीमां जांदा जती कुरा म संग जांदा गन्याका छन् सवै कुरा म त्यो ढड्डामा सहि पारी आया पछि मेरा मुहार वाट तं संग सवै वीस्तार गरूला मेरो कुरो तं संग तेरो कुरो म संग नभयाको वनाइकन छोटा मानीस ल्याउदछन् पत्याउनु छैन मेरा मुषले तेरा घटीया हुन्त्या कसै संग भन्त्याको पनि छैन भन्त्या पनि छैन. आहांवाट भनी पठाउन्त्या कुरो छैन. मेस मुषले तं संग भन्नु पर्न्या छ. मिति चैत्र सुदी १५ रोज ४ मुकाम सुगौली शुभम्.....

(संख्या ९)

खड्गबहादुर कुंवरले जङ्गबहादुरलाई लेखेको पत्र

श्री कासि

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श्री ५ सरकार

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श्री गुरुज्यू

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स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा ज्योग्यत्यादि सकल गुणगरिष्ट राजभारोद्धारण सामर्थ श्रीश्रीश्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यान् कम्याण्डर इनचिफ् जनरल जङ्गबहादुर कुंवरका चरणतलेषु इत श्री कपतान षड्गबहादुर कुंवर श्री कपतान धीरबहादुर कुंवरको कोटि कोटि दण्डवत्सेवा सतम्. पूर्वक पत्रमिदं इतनीक तांहा कुसल आनन्द भया हामरो प्रतिपालन उद्धार होला. आगेजांहाको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त अरू सवै कुराको विस्तार भन्था हात पठायाका चीठीले मालुम होला. प्रथम जेष्ठ शुदि ६ रोज ५ मा लेषियाको सिक्षापत्र पनि ऐ शुदि ९ रोज १ का दिन आइपुग्यो हेरिविस्तार सिर चह्नाजां लालमोहर पनि आइपुग्यो. सिरचह्नाजुं आउनाको तजविज गर्छौं जाहांका साहेवको सल्लाह लि आउ भन्था लेषि आउदा साहेव संग म र सदर् र गै वुम्माउदा ५१६ दिन सवुर गर म पनी संग्रह दीउला विदा भै जानु वढिया भन्था सल्लाह फिलिप साहेवले भन्था काला पांडे र चौतरिया गैह्र भगुवाहरूलाइ पनि मोतिहारि कचहरिवाट साहेवले डाकि पठाइ राषेछ. गोपाल पुरको राजालाइ पनी मोतिहारि जानु भन्था आयो र गया वुढा...१... लाइ पनी ...२... वाट वोलावट भै आज ५ दिन भयो ...३... वाट हीडय. तांहांवाट हामिहरूका नाउमा वोलावटको लालमोहर आयाकोमा छातावाल चोपदार गैह्र मानिसलाइ फुल्याइ ल्याई सिवाना भित्र ल्याउनु र भित्र पस्यापछि पक्रि ल्याउन्था कामगर्नु भनि लेषि आउनाले त्यो मोहर ...२... मा देषाउनु होवैनकि भन्था मनमा लाग्दा र साहेवले ५१६ दिन रहि विदा भै जानु भन्नाले साविक वमोजीम फलाना फलानाले वस्नु फलाना फलानाले आउनु भन्था मात्रै लेषि लालमोहर पठाइ दिनु भया हामिहरूलाइ सुविस्ता पर्ला भन्था मनमा लागि लेषी चह्नाइ पठायाको हो. विदा हुंदा अवस्य रिसानि पनि हुन्था छ. मार पिट पनि वाहुलिवाट होला भन्था भै लाग्छ. हामि र तांहांका सल्लाह वाहेक छैनौ. पिता तुल्य हुनुहुन्छ जो आज्ञा. मालिकको सोभाउ र विचित्रै छ. गोपालपुरका राजालाइ मोतिहारि जान नपरोस् मेरा तरफवाट भनु भनी हुकुम हुंदा भन गजांथ्यौ मेरो केहि लाग्दैन. भन्था जवाफ् दियो. गैह्र भगुवालाइ हाम्रा पाहाडियाको इनसाफ म गरूला भन्था कुरको तजविज हामि माथि छ. जौन साहेव संग होला जवाव सवाल गरूला. नजां रकम गरि हुन्था छैन भनी रिसानिको तवर पनि हुंछ. हामिहरू माथि वातवातमा रिसानि छ. मनमा भन्था कसो होला भन्था फिक्रि पनी देषिन्छ सवै कुरामा जान्या हुनु हुन्छ. सवै विचारि ...२... तांहांको वियत रहन्था र तपांइलाइ जस रहि हामि सवैको रक्षा हुन्था कुरागरि वक्सनु पर्छ. याहां कांहांतक लेषु सर अप्सर माफ र अर्ति शीक्षा पठाइ वक्सनु

भया वढीया होला. इति सम्वत् १९०४ साल मिति प्रथम जेष्ठ शुदि १० रोज २ मुकाम सुगौली शुभम्.....

फड्केमा:-चोपदार वहिदार दुवाडिहरूलाइ पकृत्याउनु भन्या मोहरमा परिनआवस्. मोहरमा परीआया इनहरू चंकन्या छन्. तसर्थ मोहरमा नपरोस् येस कुरको तजविज आही गरूला.

खाममा:-स्वस्ति श्रीश्रीश्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यान् कम्याण्डर इनचिफ जनरल जङ्गबहादुर कुंवरका चरण तलेषु कांतिपुर पत्र पहुंचै शुभम्.....

सं. १९०४ सा. वैसाख वदि २ रोज ६ दा.

(संख्या १०)

श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहलाई जङ्गबहादुरको पत्र

श्री ५ महाराजधिराज

वांकि काजि हिरालाल ऋलाइ पाव रषवारिमा लैजाइ वक्सनु भयो भन्या आहा कंपुको दफतर र मेगजीनको काम सवै अलपत्र पर्न जान्या छ आहा हामि सवै कुंवरे मात्र छौं . सल्लाह वातलाई पनि चाहिन्छ वाट पनि मेराहजुरमा आउनु भनि हुकुम हुन्छ . तस निमित्त काजि हिरालाल ऋलाई नलगी वक्स्या जाला शुभम् - - - - -

श्री ५ वुवाज्यू	श्री ५ नानि	श्री ५ महाराजधिराज	श्री ५ वडा कान्छा महारानी
	महाराजधिराज		
९	१	२	४

श्री ५ वडा	श्री ५ महारानी	श्री माहिला साहेवज्यू	श्री पशुपति गुह्येश्वरी
कान्छा मुमाज्यू			
५	६	७	८

श्री धर्म	श्री ५ सर्कार
१०	३

अर्जि
उप्रान्त मार्ग शुदि १३ रोज २ पौष वदि १ रोज ५ का मितिमा वक्सीयाको लालमोहर ये वदि ४/६ रोज ३/१ का दिन आइपुग्यो लालामोहर सिर चहाज्या लाट आया भन्या ...१...

लाइ आधा फरस सम्म सवारी चलाउन्थ्या काम गर्नु भन्थ्यो र साहवानहरूसंग भेट मुलाकात हुंदा कामको अंजाम हेरि तैले लेखि चह्नाइ पठाया वमोजिम गरि वक्सौला षरिताको जवाव लेषनालाई केहि जरूरत छैन भन्थ्यो हाल लेषनु पर्दैन पछि जो ठहर्ला सो गरि वक्सौला तांहांको हालसुरत हरहमेसा लेषि चह्नाई पठाउदै रहनु भया सेवकका उपर मेहर वानगी पूर्वक शिक्षाको हुकुम वक्सीसभै आयाका अर्थ योग्य हुकुम भै आएछ हुकुम वमोजीम मनराजका लाट आया भन्थ्यो ...२...का हजुरमा विंति पारि आधा फरस सम्म चलाउन्थ्या काम गरूला जाहाको अर्थ ...२... अरू ...३...का गाथमा सव तरहले आराम हुनु हुन्छ. वषत वषतमा पूजा ज्यूनार सुकला गरि वक्सनु हुन्छ छोटो वडो जस्तो सुकै काम परि आउदा पनि ...२... का हुकुम वमोजीम काम चल्दछ ...४...का हजुरमा जांदा सगि ली जानु उसै नजानु . कायेल नामा नभै कसैलाई नविगार्नु भन्थ्यो लालामोहर गर्नु भन्थ्यो वाहुली वाट लेषि वक्स्योको फर्द आई पुगी हुकुम भया वमोजीमका मानिस राषि ...२... का हजुरमा नजर गराउदा ...५... का हजुरमा जांदा संगीली जानु उसै नजानु भन्थ्यो व्यहोरा लेषियाको रहेछ . अर्काका मुलुकमा राजगर्नु भयाको हुनाले येस्ता थितिका मोहर हुन जांदा हलुको पर्न जान्छ . हाम्रा सिवाना भित्र पाव लाग्या पछि यो मोहर गर्नु वढियै छ . पछि होला भनि हुकुम हुंदा त्यो मोहोर हुन गयेन हाम्रा सिवाना भित्र पाव लागी राजगर्नु भयापछि उसै वषतमा विंतिपारि लाल मोहर गराउन्थ्या काम गरूला कायेलनामा नभै कसैलाई नविगार्नु भन्थ्यो कुराको हुकुम भै आयाका कुरालाई यो कुरा वढियै हो मोहर गर्नु भन्थ्यो हुकुम भै लालामोहर भै जाहा रहये . उसको नक्कल चह्नाइ पठायाको छ . जाहेर होला चौतरिया विरविन्द पराक्रम साहलाई दर्माहामा चौतराई वक्सनु भै जाहा हजुरमा दर्सन गर्नुभयो ताहा हजुरका दर्सन भेटका रूपैया चह्नाइ पठाउनु भन्थ्यो हुकुम भयाको छ चौतरिया वाट चह्नाई पठाउनु होला फेरि वाहुलीका अक्षरले लेषि वक्स्योको फर्द आई पुगी नजर गराउन्थ्या काम गन्थ्या . गोषा सम्मान थापा रणसेर षत्री जगत्सी वस्न्यात् र इन्हरूका षलक भुरमज्जोसि इन्हरूलाई हाम्राजगामा पनि घुसवटमा पनि ...४...का चाकडिमा नरहनु भन्थ्यो लेषियाको रहेछ . येस कुरालाई कस्का नाउमा प्रति गरि यो मोहर गर्नु ...४... का नाउमा भनि हुकुम हुंछ . भन्थ्यो वाहालाई येति मानिस चाकरिमा नराषनु भनि हजुरवाट हुकुम भया पुगी जान्छ . अरूका नाउमा प्रति गरि मोहर गरौं भन्थ्यो हाम्रा सिवाना भित्रलाई येति मानिसलाई रहन नदिनु . फेलापन्थ्या भया पत्री नेलठोकि जाहा सोधि पठाउनु भन्थ्यो ७ सुवाका नाउमा उर्दिको दसषत पठायाको छ . रहन पाउन्थ्या छैन . विराना मुलुक्का थानेदारहरूका नाउमा प्रति गरि गरौं भन्थ्यो दस्तुर पनि होईन मान्या पनि छैन . जो हुकुम सप्तरि महत्तरी वाहिक १५ हज्जार उठति हुन्थ्यो जगाको मोहरका कुरालाई अधि सप्तरि महत्तरि लगायेत् पसन्द भयाका जगामा सालको १५ हज्जार उठति हुन्थ्यो जगा विर्ता वक्सौ भन्थ्यो व्यहोराको लालमोहर ...४... का हजुरमा सौपियाको छ . हजुर्वाट हुकुम आउनी विर्तिकै त्यो अधि चह्नायाको मोहरमा सप्तरि महत्तरि भन्थ्यो विर्ता लाई वंद भयाको जगा पर्न गयाको रहेछ . सप्तरि महत्तरि वाहेकका जगामा कौन जगा पसन्द आउछ सो जगा लेषी पठाई वक्स्यो उसै जगामा सालको १५ हजार उठति हुन्थ्यो जगाको विंति पारि मोहर

गराई चह्राई पठाउला भन्या विहोरको अर्जि लेषि चह्राई पठायाको छ फलानु जगा भन्या पसन्द भै आया पछि विंति पारी मोहर गराउन्या काम गरौला सप्तारि महत्तरिमा कसैलाई विर्ता नदिनु भन्या थिति भयाका कुरालाई सप्तारि महत्तरि त क्या हजुर्वाहा पावलागी नवक्सन्ज्याल हाल संकल्प भयाका विर्ताको पनि सात जिल्ला भरमा सांध लाग्न्या छैन .अधि बाहुलीवाट लेषि आयाका फर्दमा पहाड मधेसका किनारका नगीचका जगामा साल्को ५ सय उठन्या जगामा दर्वार बनाई वक्सनु भन्या लालमोहरका कुरा लाई जगाको पसन्द गरि वक्सी फलाना जगामा दर्वार बनाउछु भन्या...४... का हजुरवाट लेषिआया पछि उहि जगामा मोहर गराई पठाउन्या काम भया वढिया होला कि भन्या चित्तमा लाग्दछ. जो हुकुम वांकि ...२...६...३...र ...७...वाट पौष वदि ८ रोज ६ का दिन ...८... मा सवारि गरि वक्सनु भै उसै दिन तैले हाम्रा गाथ गादि ढुंगाको सोमो गन्याको छस् . अव उप्रांत पनि तैले हाम्रा गाथ गादि ढुंगाको सोमो गरजेलसम्म तलाई षोसमोस नगर्नु तेरा जीयधन हर्ना पछि पनि नलागनु जंगी निजामति पर पजनी पनि विंति पारि संवत् १९०४ सालमा ...९... का र मेरा हुकुमले जो पजनी गरेस् सो थामि वक्सौला भन्या व्यहोराको ...१०... पत्रको लालमोहर गरि वक्सन्छु तैले पनि अव उप्रान्त हाम्रा गाथ गादिको सोमो चिताई काम गरूला भन्या विहोराको ...१०... पत्र लेषि हाम्रा हजुरमा चह्रा भनि सवै ...३... वाट हुकुम हुंदा मैले लेषि चह्राउन्या मैले चह्रावा ...३... वाट पनि मलाई वक्सनु भयो सोही वेहोरा ...१०... पत्रका व्येहोराका सवै कागजका नक्कल चह्राइ पठायाका छन् . इनै नकलले सवै विहोरा जाहेर होला . यो सवै गरायाको तैले होला भन्या हजुरका चित्तमा पर्न जाला यो कुरा मैले विंति गरि गरायाको होइन हुकुम हुंदा हुन गयाको हो . लेषतामा उचनीच पर्न गयाका कुरामा माफ वक्स्यो जाला किमधिकं विज्ञवर प्रभु चरणेषु ईति संवत् १९०३ साल मिति पौष वदि ११ रोज २ मुकाम कांतिपुर शुभम्— —सेवक जङ्गबहादुर कुँवर कस्य कोटि साष्टाङ्ग दंडवत्सेवा-सेवा शुभम्.....

खाममा:- स्वस्ति श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री मन्महाराजाधिराजका चरणतल अर्जि पत्र कटरवना रस्ता पहुंचै शुभम्...

(संख्या ११)

ब्रिटिस रेसिडेण्ट संग भएको कुरा

१९०४ साल मीती दूतिय जेष्ठ श्रुदि ८ रोज १ मा मलाई संतान दर्सन्तान सम्म मोपत गरी षोसमोस गन्या छैन भनि पट्टागरी वक्सनु भयाको रूक्का श्री ३ साहेवलाई देषाई ल्याउनु भनि श्री ३ प्राईम मीनीष्टर याण्ड कम्प्याण्डर इनचिफवाट आज्ञा हुदा देषाउन लैजादा कुरा कहानी भयाको ६७ घडी दिन वांकीछदा कप्तान षड्गबहादुर कुँवर कप्तान धीरबहादुर कुँवर सर्दार करवीर षत्री मीर मुन्सी लक्ष्मीदासलाई तीमीहरू रजीडन्ट साहेव छेउ गै मेरा

तर्फवाट बहुत बहुत सलाम र मीजाज पुछि साहेवले तुर्क साहेवहरूको कप्तान फिलीफ साहेवलाई बहुतै वडिया गरी लेषीदियाको रहेछ हाम्रा भाइहरूलाई जुनकुराले आराम हुन्थ्यो औ केही षतरा आउन्नथ्यो सोकुरा गरीदिदा म सबै तरहले सुकरगुजार छु तसर्थ मेरातर्फवाट याद दास्तका नीसानी नीमीत्त सुनले बांधेको सुनका सिक्की समेतको रूद्राक्ष १, चार कान्या तासको टोपी १, वुट्टाखालको वषु १ कप्तान साहेव छेउ पठाइ दिया वढीया होला औ अघि श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज गादिमा राज भयापछि अर्कोहुकुम मान्दैनौ जाहाको हुकुम वमोजिम कामगरौला भनि सबै छोटा वडाले सहि दस्षत गरीदियाका ढडाको नक्कल साहेवलाई दियाको हो योचाहि ढडामा श्री ५ महाराजधिराजलाई गादि दिनामा सबैको सल्लाहले हो कसैले अर्कोतरह नगर्नु जसले गर्दछ उसलाई जात अनुसारको सजाय सर्वस्वगर्नु भन्या वेहोरा भयाको श्री ५ महारानी गुरू प्रोहित मोषतार गैह्र सबैका दस्तषत सहि भयाको ढडा र आज श्री ५ महाराजा धिराज वाट मलाई सन्तान दरसन्तान सम्म मोष्त्यारी षोसमोस गन्याछैन भनि पट्टागरी वक्सनु भयाको र श्री ३ महारानीवाट पनि सदा वमोजिमको मदत गरी वक्सनु भयाको रूक्का ३ साहेवलाई देषाई ल्याउनलाई साहेवलाई षरीता गयाको ढेरैदिन भयो साहेवले दर्वारमा आउनु कैल्हेहुन्छ भन्या कुरागर्न जानु भनि श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यांड कम्प्यान्डर इनचीफवाट आज्ञाहुंदा मीर मुन्सीलाई दस्तुर वमोजिं पवरका निमित्त अघिपठाई काजी षजान्ची सर्दार कप्तानहरू वगीमा सवार भै रजीडन्टी फोठीमा जादा वडासाहेव र डाक्टर लोगनसाहेव कमरावाट निसकी दस्तुर वमोजिं काजी कप्तान सर्दार संग वगलतीर भै हात समाई कमराभित्र ल्याई कुर्सिमा वसाया पछि दुवैतीरवाट कुशल प्रश्नभैसक्या पछि श्री प्राइम् मिनिष्टर साहेव वाट आग्यागरी पठाया वमोजिंको सबै कागजहरू र लाट साहेवलाई गयाका षरीताका कुराको विस्तार काजी कप्तानवाट गर्दा साहेवले इ सबै कागजहरू म एकफेराहेरी नक्कलली ताहापठाई दिउला षरीताको जवाव चाडै आउन्थ्याछ भन्याकुराको जवावगर्दा काजी कप्तानले रूषसत चाहदा अत्तर दी दस्तुर वमोजिम अंकमालगरी रूषसतभै वगीमा सवार भै आई सबै वीस्तार श्री जनरल साहेव छेउ वीन्ती गन्या शुभम्

(संख्या १२)

खड्गबहादुर कुवरले जङ्गबहादुरलाई लेखेको पत्र

श्री रणपृथ

१

श्री ५ महाराजा

२

स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा जोग्यत्यादि सकल गुणगरिष्ट राजभारोद्धारण सामर्थ श्रीश्रीश्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यान् कम्प्याण्डर इनचीफ जनरल दाज्यैज्यू जङ्गबहादुर कुंवरका चरण तलेषु इत श्री कप्तान खड्ग बहादुर कुंवरको कोटि कोटि दण्डवत्सेवा सतम्. पूर्वक पत्रमिदं

इतनिक ताहा पाउ कुशल आनन्द भया हमारो प्रतिपालन उद्धार होला आगे जाहाको समाचार भलो छ. जेष्ठ वदि १२ रोज ३ मा लेषियाको शिक्षा पत्र ऐ वदि ३० रोज ६ का दिन आइ पुग्यो हेरि विस्तार मालुम भयो. उप्रान्त...१... पल्टनको पट्टी ताहां व्येकाम छ भन्या सुनीयो तसर्थ त्यो पट्टीको ताहां काम छैन भन्या जाहां पठाई दिन्या काम गर. भनी लेषिआयाका अर्थ ...२... का हजुरमा विंति गन्याथ्यां औलो छ. असारका दिन जांदा कटर्वना पाउलागि वक्सौला र थामन्या थामौला वदला गन्या वदला गरौला भनी हुकुम भयो विदां वक्सनु भयेन. अरुकुराको विस्तार हीजो चह्राई पठायाका पत्रवाट मालुम होला पछी परि आयाका कुरा र पछि लेषी चह्राइ पठाउन्या काम गरूला याहा काहांतक् लेषुं अर्ति शिक्षाको मेहरमानगि सदा रहदै रह्या शिक्षा माफिक काम गरौला. इती संवत् १९०४ साल मिति अधिक ज्येष्ठ शुदी १ रोज ७ मुकां सुगौली शुभम्.....

(संख्या १३)

श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहले जङ्गबहादुरलाई लेखेको पत्र

श्री नानीमहाराजाधिराज

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराज चक्रचूडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविध विरूदावली विराजमान मानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्री महाराजे राजेन्द्रविक्रम साह बहादुर सम्सेर जङ्गदेवानां सदासमर विजयिनाम्....

स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा योग्य श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यान कम्यांडर इनचिफ जनरल जङ्गबहादुर कुंवरके आशीष पूर्वक पत्रमिदम्. जाहां कुशल ताहां कुशल चाहिए आगे जाहांको समाचार भलो छ. उप्रान्त ताहांवाट मेरो सवारी हुंदामा मेरा पावरषवारीलाई षटाइ पठायाका तिन्सय सिपाहि हुन. सय जवानले रहनु दुइसयले आउनु भन्या.....वाट वोलाहटको लालमोहर र तेरो चिठि आयाको रहेछ र हामीलाई एस्तो लालमोहर र चिठि आएछ हामीलाई त विदा वक्सनु भया जांदाहौं भन्या पल्टनले विंतिगर्दा म वाटका हजूरमा र श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टरलाई लेषि पठाइ वक्सुला. तिम्हेरूले मेरा पाव रषवारीमा रहनु पर्छ भनि हुकुम वक्स्यौं. ताहा तैले पनिका हजूरमा विंतिपारी एति तिन्सय सिपाहिलाइ तिम्हेरूले ताहिं पाव रषवारीमा रहनु भन्या वेहोरको लालमोहर र तेरो चिठि पठाइ दिया वढिया होला. नतर दुइसय सिपाहिलाइ विदा वक्सौं भन्या. चोकि पहरालाइ पनि पुग्न्या भएन. एस् कुरामाका हजूरमा राम्रा पाठ संग विंतिपारी सम्झाइ सर्वथा लालमोहर र तेरो चिठि चांडो पठाउन्या काम गर. इति संवत् १९०४ साल मिति द्वितीय जेष्ठ वदि १२ रोज ५ मुकाम सुगौली शुभम्.....

(संख्या १४)

संवत् १९०४ को जङ्गबहादुरका नामको पत्र

श्रीराजदल

४

श्री ५ सकार

१

अर्जी.....
उप्रांत बोलाहाटको मोहोर आयेछ सीरचहार्ड १ मा विंति गरि विदाको दर्सन गरि
हिडदा १ वाट छेकि वाहुली वाट वन्दुक षोसि फिराई वक्सनु भयो . सातादिनमा
तिमिहरूलाई विदा दिनु पर्न्या भया विदा दिउला वस भन्या मोहोर आया वसौला भन्या हुकुम
भयो र १ मा हटगरि मुगलानामा जवरजस्ति गर्न सकीयेन जस्तो कप्तान लाई भयाको
थियो तस्तै हामि चार जमादारलाई भईरहेछे. कुन पाठ गर्न्याहो अर्ति सिक्षा गरि वक्स्या
वढिया होला ...४..का जमादारको कोटि कोटि सलाम सलाम सलाम शतम् ३ शुभम्
१९०४ साल दुतिया वदि ३० रोज १ शुभम्.....

खाममा:- स्वस्ति श्री प्राईम मिनिष्टर यान् कम्यान्डर इनचिफ जनरल जंगबहादुर कुवर
साहेवका चरणतल अर्जी पत्र नेपाल कांतिपुर पौचये शुभम्

(संख्या १५)

जङ्गबहादुरलाई श्री ५ राजेन्द्रको पत्र

स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराजचक्रचूडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविध विरूदावली विराजमान
मानोन्नत श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री महाराज राजेन्द्रविक्रम साहबहादुर सम्सेर
जङ्गदेवानाम् सदा समर विजयी नाम्.....

आगे जङ्गबहादुर कुंवर प्रति मेरो सवारि आषाड शुदि १ रोज ३ का दिनका रात्रिमा
जलेश्वरमा राजगर्न पाउ लागि वक्सन्या छु. उतावाट सिंधुलिमा आइ राजगर्दछु वर्षा भरि
सिंधुलिमा राजगरि मंसिरमा सरासर नेपाल पाउ लागि वक्सन्या छु.. जलेश्वर कचहरि
घरमा मलाइ राज गर्नालाइ तयारि गर्नला. इति सम्बत् १९०४ साल मिति आषाड वदि १०
रोज ४ मुकाम सुगौलि शुभम्.....

खाममा:- जंगबहादुर कुंवरके नेपाल कांतिपुर पौचै शुभम्
सं. १९०४ सा. आषाड शुदि २ रोज ४ दा.

(संख्या १६)

जङ्गवहादुरले राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहलाई लेखेको अर्जि पत्र

श्री रामचन्द्र ५

श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज १

श्री ५ महाराजा पृथ्वीनारायण साह २

श्री ५ बुवाज्यू ६

श्री ५ सर्कार ४

श्री ५ महारानी ३

अर्जि.....

उप्रान्त आषाढ वदि १४ रोज १ का दिन वक्स्याको लालमोहर ये श्रुदि ३ रोज ४ का दिन आइपुग्यो. अर्थ सिरचह्वाज्या. उप्रान्त पन्द्र हजार रूपैया मोहर चांडो मेरा हजुरमा चह्वाई पठा भन्या शिक्षाको हुकुम भै आयाका अर्थ अघि येस्कुराको हुकुम भै आउनी मात्र...१...का हजुरमा विंति पार्दा फलाना जगामा राज गरि वक्सन्छु. भन्या निश्चय आया पछि पठाई दिनु भन्या हुकुम हुंदा ढीलाहुन गयाको हो. फलाना जगामा राजगरि वक्सन्छु. मैन्हा वारी येति षर्च पठाई दिनु भन्या आहा...१...का हजुरमा लेषि पठाइ वक्स्या. आहा हजुरमा मैन्हावारि षर्च चलाई दिउं भन्या विंति पारि मैन्हावारी षर्च चह्वाई पठाउन्या काम गरूला १५ हजार रूपैयाको हुकुम भै आयाका कुरालाई र आंहा हजुरमा विंति परि मधेस सुवाहरूका नाउंमा तनुषाहको लालामोहर भै गयाको छ. सुवाहरूले जमा गरि हजुरमा चह्वाई पठाउन्या काम गर्नन. जंगवहादूर भन्या नाउमात्र लेषि वक्सनु भयेछ. श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर यान भन्या किताव लेषि वक्सनु भयेनछ मानमा कोहि षडा भया देषि किताव जान्छ मेरो दम छनज्याल मेरा मानमा रूपैया राषनत या नेपालमा र या मुगलानामा या मेरा सामने या मेरा पिठीजापरी कोहि जन्म्याको पनि छैन. जन्मन्या पनि छैनन्. यो वुझि वक्स्या जावस् तस् निमित्त मान किताव ता टाढैछ. भन्या गुलामले देष्याको छु हजुरको चाकरहुं. वा मलाई मेहर वानगी हवस् वा अरू कसैलाई हवस्. मलाई मार्ना निमित्त लालमोहर पठाइ वक्सदा पनि मरिन तांहा हजुरवाट मेहर वानगी भयाका मानिसले पनि मुष्त्यारिमा रूपैया राष्या भन्या कुरो सुनिदैन्. हजुर वाट मेहेरवानगी भया पनि केहि हुन्या रहेनछ मेहेरवानगी नभया पनि केहीहुन्या रहेनछ मैले हजुरका गाथ वचाउनाले मेरो किताव छुट्टिकन नाउमात्र लेषि आयो. माथवरसिले तवेलामा आफ्ना हातले अंडा देषाउदामा उस् रिभले तीर्थराज पंडितका चिठिमा किताव समेतको नाउ आयापछि हजुरको सपान्या पनि केहि हुन्या रहेनछ विगान्या पनि केहि हुन्यारहेनछ भन्या गुलामको चित्तले देषि रहेछ हजुरका षिजमत्मा रहि चिठि पत्रको मस्यौदा गर्न्या उमराउहरू साह्रै कच्चा रहयछन येसो गद्दिनसिनका मोहरवाट येसो भोट मधेसवाट यादास्त चिठि चपेटिमा पनि जङ्गवहादूर भन्या लेषाउन सक्याको भया तिनको केहि जमामर्दी र वुद्धि देषिन्थ्यो. हजुर वाट त जौन् दिनमा...१...गादिमा राजगरि वक्सनु भयोथ्यो. उसै दिन हजुरवाट जङ्गवहादूरको जरो राषि वक्सनु हुन्या छैन भन्या देष्याकै छ. बहुलाकि स्वास्नी लैजांदा जार नहान्नु भन्या मोहर

गराईछस् भन्या हुकुम भयाको रहेछ मता आफ्नाजात र तल्ला जातका रितसंग ल्यांजापनि पछि पनि ल्याउन्थ्यो . येस्ता जंडाहा वौलाहाका स्वास्नी ल्याउन्थ्यो भनि हजुरवाट मलाई ठट्टा हेलांगरि वक्सनु भयाकोहो. प्यारो र तारिफत हजुरवाट कस्तालाई गरि वक्सनु हुदो रहेछ भन्या ...२...का मैजा विगारन्याका सन्तानलाई र विदूर साहीकि मैजा राषन्याको ताडिफ गरि वक्सनु हुन्छ भनि जान्याकैछ हामि त हजुरका पाउका धुलोपनि हुं. हजुरवाट हाम्रा ज्यू रहन्या छैनन् भन्या निश्चय देष्याकोछ येस्तालाई चिठि चपेटीमा छेडि किन मुषलाइ वक्सनु हुन्छ हजुरवाट गुलामलाई विगारनु छ भन्या रिसानी भैकन पारलाग्दैन ४।५ मैन्हा मुगलानामा राजगरि वक्सी दगा रिसानी पुरश्चरण गरि वाइसि चौविसी उठाई भगुवा कटुवालाई मुष्य गराई राजा रजौटालाई उठाई वडा वडा आदमी संग लेषपढ गरि वक्सदा पनी हजुरको केहिसाध्य भयाको देषिदैन. अवत मलाई विगानाको हजुरको मन्सुवा छ भन्या देषि भगुवा कटुवाहरूलाई रिसानीको तौरगरि वक्सी गुलामका उपर मेहरवानगी राषि...१...र ...३...हरू संगमिली वक्सी...१...का हजुरमा विंति पारि गुलामलाई जगा जिमिन रूपैया पैसा हजुरवाट वक्सी केहिकालमा विस्वास पारि षान्या पिन्या कुरामा मात्र वितलवपारि हजुरको साध्यछ तेस्मना पनि मैजस्ता मेराभाइ १७ वटा म भंदा रुनसारो छन्

हजुरले तांहा धर्मगरि मुचुल्का लेखाई वक्सनु भयाको षवर सदांर करवीर षत्रीहरूका मुषजवानले सुनि सचेत भै म रहयकोछु हजुरवाट जलेश्वर कचहरिमा पावलागी वक्सन्छु भंदा जाहांवाट गुलामले पनि कटरवनामा घर छाउनीको ताकितगर्न लायाकोहो. फेरि हजुरवाट सिधुलिमा पाव लागछु भन्या मोहर आउंदा २ पल्टन हजुरका पाव रषवारिलाई विदा गरि पालपा पठायाको छ ...४...को षिजमत् कृष्णवहादूर गन्या छ उनी र पाव रषवारिमा आउन्थ्यो मानिसहरूलाई दुइ पल्टन गैहले जाफत गन्याको नजर गराउन्थ्यो छन्. कासीका नाथ तं संग जोरिन तयार छ भन्या हुकुम भै आयाका कुरालाई जाहा पनिर गजवटन जोरिन तयार छन्...१...वाट येस्तो हुकुम भयाको छ . ज्यौनार टहल गन्या कुराको अर्जिमात्र लेषनु. सीता वियोग भयामा जंस्तो...५...लाई भयाको थियो उस्तै ...६...लाई विपत्तिका सागरमा डुवी वक्सनु भयाको छ .अव देषि तैले अर्जि नलेषनु भन्या हुकुम भयाको छ अवदेषि ज्यौनार टहल् गैहमात्र लेषि चह्नाई पठाउन्थ्योछु अरू अर्जि लेषन्या छैन. वुमि वक्स्यो जाला किमधिकं विज्ञ प्रभुचरणेषु इति संवत् १९०४ साल मिति आषढ सुदि ५ रोज ७ मुकाम कांतिपुर शुभम्.....

खाममा:- स्वस्ति श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री महाराजाका चरणतल अर्जिपत्रं सुगौली पहुंचै शुभम्

[परिशिष्ट, १, २, ३, ४, ५, ७, ८, ९, १०, ११, १२, १३, १४, १५ र १६ संख्याका यी अप्रकाशित पत्रहरू परराष्ट्र मन्त्रालयका १२, १४, २० र २०० नं. का पोकावाट लिइएका हुन्]

टिप्पणी

१. संम्वत् १९०३ साल कार्तिक शुदि १२ रोज ७ मा काटिन्याको तप्सील जमा-१२
 - १, विरूध्वज वस्न्यात
 - २, गोठे कपतान
 - ३, शक्ति हमाल
 - ४, दलेमर्दन थापा.....
 भागन्याको तप्सील
 - १, काजि रणवीर राना
 - २, कवतान उजीर सिं
 - ३, सर्दार रणभद्र
 - ४, सर्दार बखत सिं वस्न्यात..... (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको तात्कालिक टिपोट बाट)
२. तसैदिन भारदारी वस्याको हनुमानढोकामा जङ्गवहादुर कुवरले सवै भारादारको यकमतो गराइ कान्छा महारानीलाई दियाको हुकुम षोसी कासी जानु भन्या गरायाको महाराज बाट
३. संम्वत् १९०३ साल मिति मार्गवदि ५ रोज १ मा जुवाराजलाई सवै हुकुम दियाको लालमोहर पनि दियाको (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको तात्कालिक टिपोट बाट)
४. तसैदिन महारानी मिश्र गुज्युका घरमागइ वस्याको (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको तात्कालिक टिपोट)
५. सं. १९०३ साल मार्गवदि ६ रोज २ मा कासीजानभनि महाराजाको प्रस्थान एकदेउ वैद्यका घरमा पस्याको
६. महारानी मिश्र गुज्युका घरबाट माहिला गुज्युका घरमा प्रस्थान गन्याको (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको तात्कालिक टिपोट)
७. सं १९०३ मिति मार्ग शुदि ६ रोज ३ मा महाराजा महारानीको सवारि सरासर भयाको.... (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको तात्कालिक टिपोट) परिशिष्ट संख्या को पत्र ।
८. त्यस दिन फर्पिङ वस्याको भोलीपल्ट चिसापानि वस्याको तांहाबाट मकवानपुर भयाको (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको तात्कालिक टिपोट)
९. परिशिष्ट संख्या १ को पत्र
१०. परिशिष्ट संख्या १ को पत्र
११. परिशिष्ट संख्या १ को पत्र
१२. परिशिष्ट संख्या २ को पत्र
१३. परिशिष्ट संख्या २ को पत्र
१४. परिशिष्ट संख्या २ को पत्र
१५. परिशिष्ट संख्या १० को पत्र
१६. परिशिष्ट संख्या ३ को पत्र

१७. परिशिष्ट संख्या ४ को पत्र
१८. परिशिष्ट संख्या ५ को पत्र
१९. परिशिष्ट संख्या ५ को पत्र
२०. परिशिष्ट संख्या ५ को पत्र
२१. परिशिष्ट संख्या ६ को पत्र
२२. परिशिष्ट संख्या ७ को पत्र
२३. परिशिष्ट संख्या ८ को पत्र ।
२४. परिशिष्ट संख्या ९ को पत्र ।
२५. श्री राजेन्द्रविक्रम साह मध्यस सुगौउरी विज्याओ चोम्ह श्री लालमोहर विया छोयाहल जंगवहादुर कुवर जरनेरया खलक मतियार समेत जोना जिथाहय्मा मफुसा स्यानातथ्यमा धकाहोकमजुया मोहर वियाहल.. (अप्रकाशित रातोमछिन्द्रनाथको घटनावली वाट)
२६. ...मोहर जोनाओ पिस जरनेरयात लस दगाविया तुपतं कय कास्याय धका सुलामतया नाचोन धवख जर्नेर सिंया श्री महाराजाधिराज याके विन्ति याना मोहर जोना ओपिंजोना हल मत याना चोंगु उदासया छेसम्पति लुतय याकल..... (अप्रकाशित रातोमछिन्द्रनाथको घटनावली वाट)
२७. ...काजि जर्नेर प्रभिति भारादार सिपाही सकस्यानं विंतियाना श्री महाराजाधिराजयात बुधवार रात्री घडि ४/५ जाओ वेलस श्री गादिस विज्याका गुरूज्यू श्री विजयराज ण्ण्डीत अभिशेष विया श्री ५ महाराजया भारादार दर्शनयात भारादारयात दोसाला नेकल..... (अप्रकाशित रातोमछिन्द्रनाथको घटनावली वाट)
२८. परिशिष्ट संख्या ११को पत्र ।
२९. ...ध्वनसति चतुर्दशी वृहस्पतिवार कुन्हु श्री जङ्गवहादुर स्याय माधका मोहर जोना ओपित विष्णुमति सिमायार्षाया स्यात..... (अप्रकाशित रातोमछिन्द्रनाथको घटनावली वाट)जना ३ आई किलागलका नेवारका धरमा मतोगरी वस्याका.... साजमा ति २ जनालाई सहर्धुमाई विष्णुमतिपारी षरीको बोटमा भुन्ड्यायाको बाहुनलाई मुड्याको भोलीपल्ट विहान तेस नेवारमा घर भत्कायाको काठपात समेत पल्टनलाई दाउरावाल्नु भन्याको.... (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको अप्रकाशित टिपोट वाट)
३०. परिशिष्ट संख्या ९ को पत्र ।
३१. परिशिष्ट संख्या १२को पत्र ।
३२. परिशिष्ट संख्या १३ को पत्र
३३. परिशिष्ट संख्या १४को पत्र ।
३४. परिशिष्ट संख्या ९ र १४ को पत्र ।
३५. परिशिष्टसंख्या १६ को पत्र
३६. परिशिष्ट संख्या १५को पत्र

३७. सम्बत् १९०४ साल आषाढ शुदि १३ रोज २ मा जयवहादुर बंबहादुरका दुई भाइ विजेराज माहिला साहेवज्यू पल्टन लि आफ्ना हात हतियार तोप बन्धुक लि वावु सितका मानिस सित लडाई गर्न गयाको... (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको अप्रकाशित टिपोट वाट)
३८. सम्बत् १९०४ साल मिति आषाढ शुदि १५ रोज ३ श्रावणमासे दिन गता १४ मघेस अलौ कचहरिमा गोरष पल्टनले राजासित रह्याका वाहुन अरूजात सवैलाई काट्याकोआहाका केटी पनि २ / ४ गोहत्ये ब्रम्हहत्ये स्त्रिहत्ये बालहत्ये भयाको ..३०० मय्याको. तसै अलौ कचहरिमा... (लक्ष्मीनारायण खनालको अप्रकाशित टिपोट वाट)
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RESEARCH NOTE

नेपाली भाषामा फारसी, अरबी र तुर्की भाषाको प्रभाव

प्रकाश ए. राज

भारतीय उपमहाद्वीपमा अरब, तुर्क अफगानहरूको शासन शुरूभएपछि यसका विभिन्न भागमा राजभाषाको रूपमा अरबी, फारसी र उर्दूको प्रयोग हुन थाल्यो। हाल पाकिस्तानमा रहेको सिन्धमा सर्वप्रथम अरब शासन स्थापना भएपछि अरबी भाषाको प्रभुत्व स्थापना भयो। पश्चिमोत्तर सीमाबाट उपमहाद्वीपमा प्रवेश गर्नेहरू धेरै जसो तुर्की र फारसी भाषी थिए। त्यसताका यस उपमहाद्वीपको उत्तरी भागमा बोलिने हिन्दीका भाषिका र नवागन्तुकहरूले बोल्ने तुर्की र फारसी भाषाका सम्मिश्रणले गर्दा उर्दू भाषाको निर्माण भयो। उर्दू भाषा तुर्क भाषाको शब्द हो र यसमा फारसी र अरबीका समेत अनेक शब्द घुसेका छन्। तैपनि आधारभूत भाषाको संरचना हेर्ने हो भने यो हिन्दी जस्तै छ। मुगल साम्राज्यको अन्तिम कालतिर उर्दूको प्रभाव क्षेत्र उत्तरभारतमा मात्र नभई दक्षिणमा हैदरावादसम्म पनि पुग्यो। फारसी भाषा संस्कृतसँग नजिक र एउटै भाषा परिवारको भाषा हो भने अरबी र तुर्की एकदम बेग्लै भाषा परिवारका सदस्य हुन्।

नेपाली भाषाको वर्तमान रूप कायम हुने सिलसिलामा उत्तर भारतबाट तत्कालीन प्रशासनद्वारा आयातीत अनेक शब्दहरूले प्रवेश पाए। अनेक शब्दले ता संस्कृत मुलका शब्दलाई नै हटाएर आफ्नो प्रभुत्व जमाउन सफल भए। अरबी भाषाबाट आएका 'कागत', 'कलम' र 'किताब'लाई यस्ता उदाहरणको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ। हाल लिखित भाषामा 'पुस्तकालय' शब्दमा 'पुस्तक' शब्द नै प्रयोग भएता पनि 'पुस्तक' शब्दभन्दा 'किताब' शब्द नै बढी प्रचलित छ। तुर्की भाषाबाट आएका शब्दहरूमध्ये 'सिपाही', 'कालो', 'चक्कु', 'तोप', 'कैची' लाई लिन सकिन्छ।

भारतमा शासन गर्ने मुगलहरू हाल मध्य-एशियाको उज्बेकिस्तानबाट आएका तुर्की भाषी थिए। सम्राट बाबरले आफ्नो आत्मकथा "बाबरनामा" तुर्की भाषामा लेखेतापनि पछि मुगलहरूले फारसी भाषा अपनाए र मुगल दरबारको भाषा फारसी हुन पुग्यो। मुगल साम्राज्यको अन्त हुने बेलासम्म उर्दूले पनि निकै प्रभाव जमाई सकेको थियो।

नेपालको एकीकरण अभियान शुरू गर्नु अगाडी तीर्थयात्रा गर्न हिन्दुहरूको पवित्र तीर्थस्थल काशीमा पृथ्वीनारायण शाह जाँदा औरंगजेबले विश्वनाथको मन्दिर तोड्नेको केही

दशकमात्र भएको थियो र अहल्यावाईले नयाँ मन्दिर बनाईसकेका थिइनन्। त्यसपछि डेढ शताब्दीसम्म उत्तर भारतभरी उर्दू भाषाको प्रभाव रही रह्यो। नेपालमा पनि त्यसको प्रभाव पर्नु स्वाभाविक थियो। राजा सुरेन्द्रका छोरा त्रैलोक्य विक्रमलाई भन्ने गरिएको "वलेट महाराज" शब्द वलीअहदबाट बनेको हो। यसैगरी राजाका छोरालाई फारसी शब्द 'शाहजादा' अर्थात् शाहबाट जन्म भएको भनी राजाकी छोरीलाई 'शाहजादी' भन्ने शब्दको उपयोग हुन थाल्यो। अभैसम्म 'शाही जंगी अड्डा' भन्ने उर्दू शब्दको प्रयोग हुँदैछ। "राजकीय प्रज्ञाप्रतिष्ठान"मा शाही शब्दको सट्टा 'राजकीय' शब्दको प्रयोग भएतापनि 'शाही सेना'मा उर्दूबाट आएको शब्द "शाही"को प्रयोग हुन्छ।

अत्यधिक संख्यामा नेपालीहरूको नाममा प्रयोग हुने शब्द 'बहादुर'को उद्गम पनि उर्दूबाटै भएको हो। यसैगरी 'जंगबहादुर' र 'शमशेर' दुवै उर्दू शब्द हुन्। 'बहादुर' शब्द तुर्कीबाट र उर्दू भई नेपालीमा आएको हो। 'बबर शमशेर जंग बहादुर' तुर्की र फारसीका शब्द मिली बनेको हो। उर्दू र फारसी भाषाबाट कानूनी क्षेत्रमा पनि अनेक शब्द आएका हुन्। ती मध्ये 'अदालत', 'नजीर' र 'फिराद' जस्ता शब्दहरू लिन सकिन्छ। २००७ सालपछि एक पटक संस्कृतमा आधारित शब्द 'न्यायालय' शब्दको प्रयोग गरिए तापनि 'सर्वोच्च अदालत'मा 'अदालत' जस्ता उर्दूकै शब्द प्रयोग हुन थालेको छ। 'अदालत' शब्द अरबीबाट उर्दूमा आएको हो।

प्रशासनमा प्रयोग हुने शब्द 'नायब', 'खरदार' (खरीद-दार), 'वहीदार' जस्ता शब्दहरू उर्दूबाटै नेपालीमा त्यसबेला आएका हुन् जुनबेला भारतीय उपमहाद्वीपमा उर्दूको प्रभाव अति नै बढेको थियो। आर्थिक प्रशासनमा प्रयोग हुने 'खर्च', 'फछ्योर्ट' र 'पेशकी' जस्ता शब्दहरू पनि उर्दूबाटै नेपालीमा पसेका हुन्।

उर्दूबाट आएका अनेक शब्दहरूको नेपालीकरण हुँदा अर्थको अनर्थ पनि भएको छ। उदाहरणका लागि उर्दूको 'नावालिग' शब्दलाई 'नावालक' भनी नेपालीकरण गरिएको छ। वास्तवमा 'वालिग' र 'वालक' शब्दको कुनै सम्बन्ध छैन। 'वालिग' शब्दको अर्थ 'वयस्क' हुनुपर्ने हो 'वालक' होइन। फारसी र अरबी दुवै भाषाबाट नेपालीमा आएका धेरै शब्द तत्सम जस्ता देखिएता पनि वास्तवमा त्यसो भन्न मिल्दैन। नेपालीमा एउटै 'क' भए पनि अरबीमा दुई किसिमका 'क' छन् जसको उच्चारण बेग्लै छ। यसै गरी 'फ' र 'ज' को संख्या पनि एकभन्दा बढी छ। नेपालीको फैसला र अरबीको फैसला उस्तै किमिसले लेखिएता पनि 'फ' को उच्चारण फरक हुनाले तत्सम भन्न मिल्दैन।

भारतमा स्वतन्त्रता आन्दोलन र देश विभाजनताका संस्कृतनिष्ठ हिन्दीले बढी महत्त्व पायो। नेपालमा राणा विरोधी आन्दोलनको एक केन्द्र र नेपाली भाषाका पुस्तक र पत्रिकाको प्रकाशनको केन्द्रको रूपमा समेत वाराणसी (काशी) को महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको छ। वाराणसी र इलाहाबाद जस्ता पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेशका शहरहरू हिन्दीलाई भारतको राष्ट्रभाषा बनाउने आन्दोलनमा सहभागी हुन पुगे। देवनागरी लिपिमा संस्कृतमय हिन्दी भारतको राष्ट्र भाषा बनेपछि अरबी भाषाबाट शब्दको भण्डार भरेको उर्दू भाषाको महत्त्व कम हुँदै गयो। हिन्दीमा फारसी र अरबी शब्दहरूको सट्टा संस्कृतका शब्दहरू बढी प्रयोग

हुन थाले। 'हावा', 'आराम', 'शुरू', 'खतम' जस्ता उर्दू मूलका शब्दहरू नेपाली भाषाका अभिन्न अंग बनिसकेतापनि नेपाली भाषा पनि बढ्दो मात्रामा संस्कृतमय हुन थाल्यो। नेपाली भाषामा तत्सम र तद्भव रूपमा प्रयोग भैरहेका 'पुलिस' र 'कर्णेल' जस्ता शब्दहरूको सट्टा 'प्रहरी' र 'महारथी' शब्दको प्रयोग हुन थाल्यो। नेपाली र हिन्दी दुवैको जननी संस्कृत भएको र दुवै देवनागरी लिपिमा लेखिने हुनाले नेपाली भाषा उर्दूभन्दा बढी हिन्दीसँग नजिक हुनु स्वाभाविक नै हो। यस्तो हुँदा हुँदै पनि 'मध्येनजर' र 'नजरन्दाज' जस्ता केही उर्दू शब्दहरू केही वर्ष यता नेपाली भाषामा घुसाउने प्रयास गरियो। नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने केही शब्दहरू फारसी र अरबी अथवा फारसी र तुर्कीका सम्मिश्रण भई बनेका छन्। 'तोप' शब्द तुर्की हो र 'खाना' शब्द फारसी हुनाले 'तोपखाना' शब्द तुर्की फारसीको सम्मिश्रण बनेको शब्द भयो।

कुनै बालकलाई आमाको दूध बढी पिलाइयो भने अजीर्ण हुन सक्ने जस्तै नेपाली भाषालाई पनि अत्यधिक मात्रामा संस्कृतमय बनाइएमा जटिल र क्लिष्ट हुन जानेछ। एकातिर अनिवार्य संस्कृतको विरोध गरिदैछ भने अर्कोतिर नेपाली भाषा यति संस्कृतमय भइसकेको छ कि अलिकति संस्कृत नजान्ने हो भने "गोरखापत्र" कै भाषा पनि बुझ्न गाह्रो हुने अवस्था आउन थालि सक्छ। शताब्दीयौँदेखि नेपाली भाषाको अङ्ग भई सकेका फारसी, तुर्की र अरबी मूलका शब्दलाई पनि हटाइनु हुँदैन। 'कम्प्युटर' र 'इन्टरनेट' जस्ता शब्दको संस्कृत शब्द नखोजी अंग्रेजीकै तत्सम अथवा तद्भव शब्दको रूपमा प्रयोग गरिनुपर्दछ।

नेपाली भाषामा फारसी, अरबी र तुर्की भाषाबाट आएका केही तत्सम र तद्भव शब्दको लगतः

फारसी भाषाबाट आएका

आगन्तुक शब्द	नेपाली अर्थ
आइन	- ऐन
आवाद	- आवाद
आराम	- विश्राम
आवाज	- स्वर
कमजोर	- कमजोर
कानून	- कानून
कारखाना	- कारखाना
कारिन्दा	- कारिन्दा
कुश्ती	- कुश्ती
कोशिस	- प्रयास
खानदान	- परिवार
गर्दन	- घाँटी

आगन्तुक शब्द	नेपाली अर्थ
गरिम	- तातो
गिरफ्तार	- गिरफ्तार
चीज	- वस्तु
जंगल	- वन
जंगी	- सामरिक
जागीर	- सरकारी सेवा
जिन्दगी	- जीवन
ताजा	- ताजा
दरखास्त	- आवेदन
दरवार	- दरवार
दुकान	- पसल
दुश्मन	- शत्रु

आगन्तुक शब्द नेपाली अर्थ

पहलवान	-	पहलवान
पेशा	-	व्यवसाय
पेशी	-	प्रस्तुती
वख्शीश	-	बकस
वच्चा	-	बालक
रंग	-	रंग

आगन्तुक शब्द नेपाली अर्थ

रेशम	-	रेशम
शाही	-	राजकीय
शिकार	-	शिकार
सजा	-	सजाय
सरकारी	-	राजकीय
हजार	-	हजार

अरबी भाषाबाट आएका शब्द

आगन्तुक शब्द नेपाली अर्थ

अदालत	-	न्यायालय
अमीर	-	धनाढ्य
अब्बल	-	पहिलो, सबभन्दा बेस
आखिर	-	अन्तिम
इन्साफ	-	न्याय
इलम	-	इलम
उम्र	-	उमेर
कवुलियत	-	मंजूरी
कव्र	-	समाधि

आगन्तुक शब्द नेपाली अर्थ

करीव	-	नजिक
कर्ज	-	ऋण
कसरत	-	व्यायाम
कागज	-	कागत्
किफायत	-	मितव्ययिता
किराया	-	भाडा
कुर्सी	-	मेच
कुसुर	-	कसूर

आगन्तुक शब्द नेपाली अर्थ

खतम	-	समाप्त
खबर	-	समाचार
खराब	-	खराब
खारिज	-	पदमुक्ति, वैधानिकता समाप्ति
खिलाफ	-	विरुद्ध
गरीब	-	दरिद्र
गलत	-	बेठीक
गैर	-	अन्य
जवाब	-	उत्तर
जहाज	-	जहाज
जासूस	-	जासूस
तसवीर	-	चित्र

आगन्तुक शब्द नेपाली अर्थ

तहवील	-	तहवील
तहसील	-	तहसील
दखल	-	कब्जा
दाखिल खारिज	-	स्वामित्व अदल बदल (जमिनको)
दावा	-	दावा
दिमाग	-	मस्तिष्क, मगज
दौलत	-	धन
नक्कली	-	सक्कली नभएको
नजर	-	दृष्टि
फौज	-	सेना
फैसला	-	निर्णय
मशहुर	-	महसुर, प्रशिद्ध
मुकाम	-	ठाउँ

आगन्तुक शब्द	नेपाली अर्थ	आगन्तुक शब्द	नेपाली अर्थ
मुद्दा	- अदालतमा दावा गरेको कुरा	हद	- सीमा
मुल्क	- मुलुक, देश	हाजिर	- उपस्थित
मुश्किल	- कठिन	हाकिम	- पदाधिकारी
वक्कील	- वकील	हिसाब	- गणित
सफाई	- सफाई	हक	- अधिकार
साविक	- पहिलेदेखि प्रचलनमा भएको	हुकुम	- हुकुम

तुर्की भाषाबाट आएका

तुर्की शब्द	नेपाली अर्थ	तुर्की शब्द	नेपाली अर्थ
कैची	- कैची	वन्दुक	- वन्दुक
गालिच	- गलैचा	वहादुर	- वीर
चुगली	- चुगली	सुराग	- सुराग
चाकु	- चक्कु	सौगात	- सौगात
तोप	- तोप		

फारसी, अरबी र तुर्की भाषाबाट उर्दू र नेपाली भाषामा आएका शब्दहरूको लगत "उर्दू हिन्दी शब्दकोश" ले. मुहम्मद मुस्तफा खान महावह, उत्तर प्रदेश हिन्दी संस्थानमा आधारित छ।

BOOK REVIEW

Cameroon, Mary M. 1998. *On the Edge of the Auspicious Gender and Caste in Nepal*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 394. Price \$ 24.95.

Except few studies done in different contexts by anthropologists, such as Patricia Caplan, Gregory Meserick and Peter Prindle, ethnographic research on low caste groups, particularly untouchables (popularly known as Dalits these days and I frequently use this word here for convenience) is virtually nil considering their population size (12% of the total population) and relative backwardness of the group (in social, economic and political platforms) compared to other Hindu and Tibeto-Burman groups in Nepal. Mary Cameron comes forward to fill in this ethnographic lacuna and deserves special merit here because: (i) Ethnographic research on the Dalit communities as a whole has been neglected to date both by the native and foreign scholars; (ii) Research on gender and caste is the burgeoning issue in the over all development problems in Nepal; (iii) The Far- western Region of Nepal, particularly the Western hill region, has been neglected in anthropological research throughout history; (iv) To date, there has been an overemphasis on non-Hindu (or Tibeto-Burman) groups in anthropological research that contributed to a false notion to western readers that Nepal is a country composed of primarily the ethnic/tribal groups with Buddhist values; (v) More research on the Hindu caste culture and values is desirable not only considering their large population size (over 80% of the total population are Hindus) but also the changing nature of Hindu-tribal dichotomy, Dalit movements and ethnic insurgency in recent years; and (vi) The male-centred analyses of the subject cause different but parallel problems in the ethnographic sphere and theoretically, concepts of gender, hierarchy and dominance demand female than male-centered approach in ethnography.

Like many Americans, Mary came to Nepal as a peace corps volunteer in 1978. With her peace-corps experiences, she developed her career in anthropology at the Michigan State University. In 1988-89 she came back to

Nepal to do fieldwork her PhD dissertation in anthropology. A follow up study was done during the winter of 1995 to complete the present monograph. Fieldwork was conducted in Bhalara village (fictitiously named) of Bajahng district, Seti zone, Far western Nepal. Detailed data were collected from 51 households – 31 households from the low caste and 20 households from the high caste (p.35). Most of the quantitative data, however, were derived from 50 households only. To protect human subjects, the author has changed all place and personal names in the text.

Excluding Introduction, the book is divided into eight big chapters. Mary Cameroon clearly spells out the objective of the book on the very first line of introductory chapter, "This is an ethnography of gender and caste relations in Nepal, a story told from the position of the low caste women"(p.1). In the larger Nepalese Hindu cultural model she explores the twin themes of the hierarchical nature of caste and hierarchical nature of gender and then systematically links this larger Hindu model with the context of Hindu women of Bhalara village. This chapter neatly summarizes views on caste, *varna* and *jāt*, purity, auspiciousness and marginality and how these concepts are embedded in the anthropology of the Hindu caste system in Nepal. After this, she deals with the setting of study with reference to the untouchables in Bhalara, the focal area of research site.

Chapter 1 "Situating Low-Caste Women" is the intellectual discourse on the concept of gender and caste in the context of larger South Asian Hindu caste model that situates the position of the Himalayan Hindu women versus the Bhalara women of Nepal.

Chapters two and three describe land and its relationship with people. Land is systematically embedded with caste and culture of local people and how the low caste groups of Bhalara are tied in the traditional patron-client relationship, the "riti-bhagya" system because of land (p.75-83). The "riti-bhagya" system has remained as one of the important means of subsistence for low caste people of the area. Discussion follows the division of labour by gender and caste and contributions made by untouchable women to subsistence, family farm production and wage-income work (p.87). Women's work in the family-farm is highest (68%) compared to men who contribute only to 26% of the total work. The nature of work differs between the high caste vs. low caste men and women, a domain largely defined by the Hindu cosmology.

Chapter four is the discussion of low caste women's artisan and domestic work in the local setting. Works of women of six different local artisan

groups, such as Badi, Sarki, Sunar, Lohar, Parki, Oudh and Damai are discussed in their traditional occupational setting.

"Narratives of Honor and Sexuality" is the subject matter of chapter five which is largely a theoretical discourse based on gender and caste in the larger Hindu caste society in general and the Bhalara Hindus in particular. The author construed the meanings of various terms such as *ijāt*, honor, *laj* and *dharma*, which are systematically interwoven in the matter of gender and matter of caste in Hindu Nepal (p. 149). The author cites examples of stereotypes that are used by high caste Hindus for untouchables such as "untouchable women are more promiscuous than upper caste women" (p. 150) and "the primary role of the low caste is to serve them" (p. 152). The author refutes these statements by saying that sex is a matter of *ijāt* within low caste and it is not the subject of public discourse among them, even by women. And low caste serves high caste because they are paid for their work. Finally, the author brings a lot of beautiful Nepali idioms to show the images of capricious female and the wanton male (p.164, 169) in the Nepali local cultural context.

Chapter six discusses the main features of kinship in Bhalara, emphasizing the meaning and practice of relatedness as this pertains to lower caste women, their marriages, and social hierarchy (p. 175). In Nepal, it is obvious that rules of marriage to marry within *varna* and *jāt* are not only a typical of Hindus but also practiced in the similar vein by other non-Hindu groups as well. Similarly, *thar* endogamy and exogamy and *gotra* exogamy are regular features of marriage, whereas *jāt* hypergamy and hypogamy are not the regular features of marriage in any Hindu group, whether the group is an untouchable Hindu or the high caste. One interesting feature of the text is the description of "selling of daughters" (technically sounds like the bride price) to a man (of one's own caste) within the low caste groups (p. 195). But the question of "dhan khanu" (here selling of daughters) or politics of bride price is very different in Nepal, particularly among the Tibeto-Burman groups. The bride price per se is the established cultural tradition among the Tibeto Burman groups in Nepal. The amount of bride price (both cash and service) differs with the social status of the family involved. Again the selling of daughter is not only a typical of the untouchable in the local context but also noticed among the high caste Hindu groups of this area. My own field experience in this part of Nepal suggests that a poor Thakuri family of this area virtually sells his young daughter to a rich Thakuri man (the man could be an old person or already having a wife) in the name of marrying her. This

problem has become complex once the author deals with “kanyadan marriage”(offering virgin girl in marriage). I believe that the problem of selling of daughters in the name of marriage is more closely associated with the poverty of parents, whether it pertains to an untouchable or high caste members of the society. An example of marriage of the daughter of a rich untouchable family amply justifies this. “Selling of daughters” in the name of marriage (except for the case of trafficking) is virtually unheard of in the context of high caste Hindu groups in eastern and central Nepal. In addition, a girl is considered a source of labour (labour value of the low caste woman) or an economic asset to the family (p. 198) and the family needs to be compensated for losing her is a typical western formalist approach. This type of interpretation of a girl/woman is losing its meaning with the changing status of women in Nepal recent years.

The author’s description of “rituals of marriage” in the Damai caste is excellent. The description includes every step of marriage with sufficient ethnographic details and local cultural meanings of various rituals. In addition, the author’s interpretation of low-caste marriage rituals in the larger theoretical questions on hierarchy and marriage, social drama and social conflict, auspicious and inauspicious and commensality, fertility and sexuality are proper and accurate in the context of the Hindus of western Nepal.

Chapter seven “ Bearing the *jāt*: a Childbirth and Motherhood” deals with how the ordering of caste through marriage is about the ordering of legitimate sexuality and, specifically, how the ordering of sexuality involves men and women in culturally distinct ways around the issue of purity and prestige (p. 245). Impurity leads through menstruation and childbirth is vividly discussed in the local context and equally interesting part of her discussion is the preference of sons over daughters in Hindu Nepal.

The last chapter “Reconfiguring Gender through Caste” is an attempt to analyze gender relations through cultural and social processes (p. 272).

Some of the minor problems in the text are:

- i) Her concept of *pustā* (generation) is not accurate; it should be 25 years instead of 18 (p.63); it should be Maṇasarovar instead of Manesuruwa as it is written in the text (p.23).
- ii) Gender, dharma, *ijat* and sex are presented in idealized forms (pp. 135-146) in the larger great Hindu tradition. In reality, what people say and practice in their daily life is very different in Nepali society. All of these

terins are systematically linked with the power-based model of Nepali society and the meaning of which fluctuates with access to political power and wealth.

- iii) It is interesting to note that both the unmarried Hindu girls of high caste and low caste wear the red *pothes* (necklaces) (p. 236). This is rather unusual in the Hindu context of central and eastern Nepal. Why this custom is accepted here and not in other regions of Nepal is not discussed.
- iv) The legal age at marriage for the girl is 16 (not 17 as mentioned in the text) and 18 for the boy (p.185).
- v) The other most conspicuously missing is the discussion of data in Table 2. This Table has noted the population size by village and caste. Based on Table (year not mentioned), there were 349 households and 2058 populations in Bhalara village. In fact, Bhalara is the fictitious name of ten small villages, where the households of high caste and low castes consist of 60%(209 households) and 40%(140 households), respectively. But this figure is based on seven villages as readers do not know the name of other three villages and their number of households and population size. How the sample of 31 households from low caste and 20 households from high caste were considered for detailed study (as the sample of 15%) is not known. Why Mary omitted the discussion of this vital population part of ethnography is unclear; the only explanation could be that "anthropologists are afraid of discussing numbers". Particularly, the data on population dynamics are vital in understanding the context of change that is taking place within the society. Once the land starts more fragmentation over time with population growth, how far the high caste groups are able to sustain their traditional *riti-bhagya* system with low caste is not known. In addition, as market network is expanding in the western hill regions in Nepal and cheap machine made clothes and agricultural implements are available locally, the interdependence and relationship between high caste by low caste or vice versa will dramatically change in coming years. In brief, untouchables are more at risk when their traditional resources (*riti-bhagya*) in the local context dry – up along with population growth and market economy.

- vi) Again the argument of relative autonomy and freedom of untouchable women compared to high caste Hindu women of this area has done little to improve their social and economic status within the society. In other words, this western notion of autonomy and freedom is relatively weak tool in explaining the culture and economy of people in the larger Hindu model.
- vii) The other issue not properly dealt with is the ramification of untouchability, where untouchables themselves are legitimizing their inferior status. There is hierarchy within untouchables. The principle of karma is still embraced, despite the family identifying themselves as "low caste". The people usually practice "untouchability" not because untouchability is enforced but because untouchables themselves have very strong feeling about untouchability. It comes to constitute a socially accepted framework of existence, which gives the way in which individuals perceive their day to- day life.
- viii) Mary is also little pessimistic as she thinks that the caste system will not change for generations. No doubt, Mary is right while considering the present rigid caste structure in this part of Nepal. But things are changing rapidly in Nepal over the last 40 years in terms of culture of people and ecology of the area as a whole. In the eastern and central Nepal the caste value is more relaxed and the degree of purity and pollution is relatively lower than the western Nepal. In the market areas of eastern Nepal, taking tea or food in the hotel or restaurant by a member of the low caste is largely accepted. The low caste people already started selling milk and milk products in market areas. This has happened because of the increasing rate of literacy, improved transportation, media – network and the mobility of people as a whole. The present form of caste structure in western Nepal will no longer remain in the present form in future by simply considering two factors: a) Literacy rate of both males and females is changing rapidly in Nepal. Along with rising rate of literacy of both males and females the rigidity of caste values will fade gradually, and, ii) The legislation of giving equal right to the property or inheritance to both sexes is already passed. It will help to liberalize the caste values as it reduces gradually the economic dependency of women on men. Money and status are very closely related in many societies of the world. According to many NGO reports (PACT, Nepal and others), women have achieved higher status

within the family because of "saving scheme" especially designed for them. Gender stereotypes concerning men will definitely change in the future.

Despite these few cursory remarks, Mary Cameron has done a commendable job while producing an excellent monograph on the group of people where research is considered very difficult even today. A thorough and painstaking review of the literature has produced the best synthesis of the culture of Dalits showing her formidable abilities to write the monograph like this. This book is highly useful to Dalit NGOs and organizations, researchers, students and teachers who want to understand untouchability, gender, hierarchy and dominance in developing societies.

– Dilli R. Dahal

BOOK REVIEW

State of Nepal. Dixit, Kanak Mani and Shastri Ramachandaran, eds. 2002. Himal Books: Kathmandu. ISBN 99933-13-22-X. Price: NRs. 490.

Recipe: take sixteen of the most articulate and incisive Nepali minds, give each of them around twenty pages to tell their story, stir very little, and publish immediately. *Result*: an exquisite book. It rather leaves one wondering why nobody had tried it before.

State of Nepal (and explicitly not *The State of Nepal*), is an important collection of essays now into its third reprint, some previously published, others lightly reworked, but primarily new submissions which 'try and explain contemporary Nepal to the world, particularly its evolution over the last dozen years of democracy' (Preface). The task is noble, necessary and timely, and the outcome is a resounding success. As the editors put it, 'there have been few works in English that look at the polity holistically, using original writings by Nepali specialists'.

While it is impossible to do justice to the wealth of detail unearthed in the 300 pages of this compilation in a short review such as this, each article warrants at least a brief discussion. We kick off with Rajendra Pradhan's discussion of 'ethnicity, caste and a plural society'. One of Pradhan's main points is that Hindu caste provides the organising framework for the Nepali polity, and he offers good historical and anthropological data to support his argument. Pradhan has a knack for tidy and succinct description: 'Although the Muluki Ain recognised and accepted some degree of cultural diversity, it translated cultural differences into hierarchical 'caste' categories'. The contribution is an excellent overview to the politics of language, culture and identity in modern Nepal.

Sudhindra Sharma offers an intellectually rigorous history of Hinduism in Nepal. Pointing out that the core Hindu institution in the nation is actually the Crown, he posits that modern Nepali Hinduism is inherently syncretic, and in many ways closer to folk religions such as shamanism and animism than it is

to north Indian Hinduism. Sharma believes that the inclusion of the word 'Hindu' in the Nepali Constitution does not necessarily make 'Nepal a theocratic state', and while acknowledging the 'insularity of the Hindu intelligentsia', he proposes that Nepal is 'in *de facto* terms a secular state'. The continuing strength of Nepali Hinduism, he argues, has been its openness to infiltration by 'little traditions' which are then incorporated 'into the Hindu pantheon' and thus bring 'non-Hindus into its fold'. Sharma states his case forcefully, and readers will diverge on the meaning (and appropriateness) of his conclusion:

'...much of what goes under the rubric of 'religion' in Hinduism represents culture and civilisation, and it has been precisely for this reason that many...have been unable to reject Hindu religion in its entirety.'

Sanjay Upadhyia contributes a lucid overview of Nepali democracy after 1990. According to Upadhyia, the absence of a clear objective among the leaders of the People's Movement beyond the immediate overthrow of the Panchayat regime sowed the seeds for subsequent turmoil. King Birendra's surprising popularity after 1990 was in large part thanks to the 'distance he maintained from the political process'. In other words, the Crown avoided discrediting itself by keeping its hands out of the political pie. Moreover, the Maoists' outsider status guaranteed them the early support they needed to get their movement off the ground:

'Because it was the only untested vision for the future, the Maoists' programme struck an immediate chord with the people who felt they had little to lose.'

The next contribution in the volume, by Kanak Mani Dixit, deals with Nepali kingship. Dixit suggests that while Nepal is 'robust enough a structure' to carry on without a one, the nation is nevertheless fortunate to have a King. His voice is loud and clear: 'A kingship is a bonus available only to countries that have been allowed a 'continuous' history. Doing away with it would be an act of monumental folly'. Should His Majesty therefore engage in the political process, or would that be the wrong move for the reasons articulated above by Upadhyia? Dixit offers an oblique answer: 'a

constitutional king need not be a passive king' because in trying times, the nation 'requires a proactive institution'.

Deepak Thapa's essay on the Maoist insurgency is a meaty addendum to his first, and now seminal, article on the subject published in *Himal South Asian* in May 2001. Thapa's contribution is heavy on fact and cautious in its analysis, as befits a topic of such explosive power. The author focuses on the Maoist decision to tap into *janajati* discontent by 'taking advantage of the perceived correlation between ethnicity and poverty', and Thapa goes on to show how this 'gesture' amounts to little more than an expedient and 'tactically motivated insertion' by the leaders of the movement. He remains hopeful that the Maoist guerrillas may come above-ground to 'parlay their cadre strength and countrywide organisation to significant political strength'.

The commentator C.K. Lal devotes his chapter to a topic close to his heart: the relationship of the Tarai to the body politic of Nepal. Noting that this flat strip of land gets 'scant attention', Lal is quick to redress the imbalance and paint in some missing detail. He suggests, in his characteristically pithy manner, that Nepali identity was 'built around the Parbatiya ethos of the Gorkhali conquerors', which in part helped to form the perception that the 'people of the hills were rulers while those of tarai origin belonged to the subject race'.

Nepal has 'no policy regarding Nepali-speakers living outside the country', according to Professor Tanka Bahadur Subba, and he conscripts good evidence to support his case. For most Indian Nepalis, he argues, Nepal is 'politically as distant as Bhutan or Bangladesh', and these citizens make every effort to distance themselves from their 'country of origin', instead searching for an identity within India. Despite this, Nepali-speakers in India 'are increasingly held answerable for what Nepal is perceived to be doing, and what 'happens' to Indians in Nepal'. While Nepali identity within Nepal is 'state-generated' and 'involuntary', Subba concludes, identity among Indian Nepalis is 'self-generated and voluntary'. The author's discerning analysis make his contribution one of the strongest in the volume, and required reading for anyone travelling to Darjeeling or Sikkim.

Saubhagya Shah's highly intellectual essay offers a critique of the burgeoning NGO sector in democratic Nepal. While somewhat over-reliant on American academic terminology, Shah's contribution is nevertheless insightful. Noting that both government and non-governmental sectors are increasingly competing for the same resources, he points out that NGOs have begun to resemble HMG in both form and content. Ironically, while NGOs

are busy adopting the 'hierarchy, bureaucracy and power structure of the government', government civil servants are coming to expect the 'higher pay and perks of the NGO sector'. Shah is strong on delightful asides, including an analysis of the contemporary practice of naming children Bikas (pages 146-147) or his observation that the 'political forces are always engrossed with changing the regime, but never with altering the substance of governance'.

In her contribution on Nepali women, Siera Tamang takes issue with the effective denial of the 'heterogeneity of women's lived experience' by development discourses. Tamang pulls no punches in noting that the 'fiction of 'the Nepali *mahila*' was...an effect rather than a discovery of the institutions', and she rightly challenges the ability of 'upper-class Hindu women', the usual 'native informants' for foreign projects, to accurately represent the reality of women's lives in Nepal. Present policies essentialise Nepali women, making them 'mere target populations' rather than 'participants in their own advance'. Tamang concludes on a positive note, however, arguing for the need to build 'solidarities without erasing difference'.

In the following contribution, Sujeev Shakya, a chartered accountant by training, offers a useful overview of the Nepali economy. Economic trends and policies are notoriously difficult for non-experts to understand, and it is to Shakya's credit that he succeeds in presenting a clear narrative of the cluttered policies of successive governments. We learn, for example, that while the private sector had high hopes for the opening up of the economy post-1990, it soon became clear that increased liberalisation would lead to globalisation and that local businesses would 'have to compete with international companies both in quality and price'. Fearful of the consequences, they chose the quick fix of 'protectionism by influencing politicians'. Defunct institutions are given short shrift by Shakya: the National Planning Commission (NPC) is no longer required since plan-making has become little more than 'a way for the government...to show work and movement when in fact nothing is being achieved'.

Shanta Dixit provides some sobering statistics in her article on Nepali education to illustrate how 'each and every malaise that the country is saddled with today harks back to the poor quality of schooling'. The present education system, which 'emphasises literacy at the expense of education', and in which the students are guinea pigs for the various developmental fads which come and go, was solely designed to test rote-learning and memory

recall. Dixit argues that the system needs a dramatic shake up and a realignment to reflect 'child-centred education' and 'community participation', thus tapping into a desire among parents to give their children the best available schooling. These reforms must encourage communities to pay a portion of the running costs of their school, thereby giving them a sense of involvement in, and responsibility for, the outcome.

Dipak Gyawali contributes a lively article which assesses the history of technology in Nepal from a geo-historical perspective. Arguing that Nepal's encounter with technology has been enacted largely through the 'new *dharma* of our times—development', Gyawali describes the time lag in the nation's 'embryonic encounter' with modern tools, machines and processes. 'It was technology and those in control of it who took advantage of Nepali society', he suggests, pointing out how successive Nepali rulers have been delighted with foreign trinkets without seeking to understand the 'driving forces behind them'. One consequence has been the rise of the 'underground informal economy', which at present steers most of the innovation in the nation. The state, Gyawali concludes, needs to both reconnect with and support local entrepreneurial initiatives.

Bhim Subba's contribution on 'Water, Nepal and India' is replete with hard facts about the energy and water needs of the two nations he describes, and is unrelenting in its critique of the present policy. A 'fundamental flaw', according to Subba, is that 'Nepal has been trying to sell electricity while it is water that India needs'. Given India's water needs, both for her consumers and for her industry, Nepal will play an increasingly important role in the water policy of her southern neighbour. Subba argues for a reversal of priorities: India should be asking Nepal to store water rather than generate hydropower, and Nepal must become strong enough to put a 'monetary value on such stored water'.

We have come a long way, argues Pratyoush Onta, from the days when print media in Nepal amounted to *Gorkhapatra* and *The Rising Nepal*. The growth in all forms of media since 1990s, he suggests, has been qualitative as well as quantitative, and the most dramatic changes have been in print and radio. Onta's contribution is made up of two parts: a comprehensive overview of media outlets in Nepal over the past twelve years, and a careful critique of their efficacy. While the 'growth in all forms of media has contributed to opening up Nepali society to new ideas and newer ways of looking at 'old' issues', investigative reporting is still sorely lacking. The state's continuing monopoly over Radio Nepal has meant that it 'continues to

be an appendage to the party in power', and the dark alliance between politics, big business and the media essentially precludes critical or probing reports which challenge the status quo.

Manjushree Thapa offers an discerning introduction to Nepali literature, and with undue modesty avoids including herself in a list of important Nepali writers and poets presently producing. She writes of the 'hostile' conditions in which local literature is being produced: far less than half the total population is functionally literate in the national language, a language which is characterised by irregular spellings and 'non-standardised grammar'. More problematic still, Thapa suggests, is that Nepali poets and writers are isolated from the rest of the world. While Kathmandu may have taken the place of Darjeeling as the 'staging ground for Nepali literary activity', Nepal's best-selling literary books are still those which are 'required to be read as part of school and college syllabi'. Thapa concludes her contribution with well-chosen excerpts from Rajav, Manju Kanchuli, Sita Pandey and Bimal Nibha.

The final contribution in the volume, by co-editor Shastri Ramachandaran, is a little slow moving. Ramachandaran relays the presentation and representation of Nepal and her citizens in India, but the result is more of a 22-page history of Indo-Nepalese political agreements and disagreements. His narrative is, however, punctuated with precise observations. 'India overwhelms the Nepali landscape as well as mindscape', Ramachandaran writes, 'there is not one major political event in Nepal in which India has not been involved, or implicated'. Asking why Nepal is so inherently anti-Indian, the author concludes that Nepali nationalism must necessarily be 'anti-Indian, if only to underscore that cultural affinities cannot be allowed to subsume Nepal's separate identity'.

I conclude with a few general quibbles with this otherwise excellent collection. While reading and rereading the contributions, I couldn't help but wonder about the intended audience. The high-brow English and frequent references to western academic literature mean that *State of Nepal* is inherently more geared towards informing expatriates about the nation than it is its own citizens. As 'donor education', the collection is second to none. Perhaps it will be made required reading for development *wallahs* before they descend upon Nepal and start dispensing their advice. As important as educating those from outside, however, is to have Nepali government bureaucrats read this book. Will the collection be translated into Nepali and offered to school and college students along with a Nepali translation of Bista's seminal *Fatalism and Development*? Perhaps a Nepali edition could

be made a little cheaper, with a nice cloth cover and some fitting illustrations by Subhas Rai. For the non-Nepali readers, a map and a glossary would also have been helpful, since a number of key terms are left untranslated.

In short, *State of Nepal* aims high and also delivers. Some compilations suffer from superficiality, since they sacrifice depth for breadth. The present volume succeeds not because of any unity of voice, since many of the contributors probably disagree with one another, but rather because each article is well-written, carefully edited and clear in its objectives. Let's hope that they're planning a sequel to be released in five years: *Return of the State of Nepal*.

-Mark Turin